HISTORY OF THE MUSLIMS
OF
INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT
(1707-1806)

Vol. I

by
Prof. Sh. Abdur Rashid

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INTRODUCTION

Speaking of the eighteenth century decadence of Islamic peoples and their civilization in the context of the contemporary world historical development, the late Dr. Marshall Hodgson observes, "There had been no century with such a dearth in the achievement of high *cultural* excellence as the eighteenth; the relative barrenness was moreover practically universal in Islam."[1]

The Muslims of India and Pakistan shared this fate with other Muslim peoples in other lands, particularly Turkey and Iran. In India the Muslims had started as victors; they ended as victims. The hammer of the Hindus, the Jats, the Marahathas and the Sikhs, made them their anvil. The Muslims everywhere hesitated timorously to confront the political, economic and cultural problems posed by the economic and intellectual revolution in contemporary Christian Europe and ceased to play a dominant role in Afro-Eurasian history which they had done in preceding centuries. This failure of the Islamic peoples to read the signs of the times and come to terms with the changing world situation was of no transient import. It contributed considerably to their decadence in the following centuries and the damage done to Muslim society has not so far been repaired.

The Muslim Community.

"Mughul civilization," writes Reincourt, "started in a dilemma and ended in the same unresolved dilemma—should it remain purely Muslim or should it be a synthesis of Islam and Hinduism ? Should it remain true to the conquering civilization or attempt to blend the conqueror and the conquered ? Swerving from one extreme to the other according to the personal whims of the various emperors, it was never able to make up its mind and failed to lay down one consistent, long-term policy."[2]

The two most notable features which the Muslim community, essentially monotheistic in religion and eglatarian in its social structure acquired in India, are worth mentioning. The one adversely affected its spiritual purity and the other its unity and homogeneity.

Popular Islam which was a compromise between the rigid formal purist Islam and the superstitious belief in charms, magic and *pirs* imported innumerable rituals and beliefs into Islam which encouraged the formation of new religious fraternities besides the great universal *sufi* orders. The second feature is the appearance of caste in Islam.

The caste system of the Hindus and the existence of various tribes affected the social structure of Muslim society. According to Ibbetson, "the people (Mussulmans of the Punjab) are bound by social and tribal customs far more than by any rules of religion."[3] Similar observations are made by British officers in the census reports of various British Indian provinces. "Conversion from Hinduism to Islam has had not necessarily the slightest effect upon it."[4] "A vast majority of Muslims in the subcontinent are converts from Hinduism and after conversion they "looked to Islam for their religion and to Hinduism for their social structure."[5] All the features of the Hindu caste-endogamy, specialization of occupation, rules of precedence and social restrictions were present according to Richard Burn amongst the Muslims. Tribal affiliations and inter-tribal rivalries affilicted the Muslim society. The distinction between *razil* (the low born) and the *sharif* (the well born) was imbedded in the consciousness of the Muslims. Certain classes in this status-ridden society were held in high esteem, some because of their birth, some by reason of their piety or erudition and others because of their official position. This made the mass of the people depend too much, not only for economic reasons but for spiritual and intellectual nourishment, on the elite. The position of the Sayyids was the same in Muslim society as that of the Brahmins in Hindu social system. In one of his letters Alamgir thus expresses his esteem for the Sayyids. "True love for the high ranked Sayyids is a part of our faith, nay more; it is the very essence of spiritual knowledge, and enmity to his tribe is the cause of entry into hell-fire and of incurring the anger of God."[6] The only difference between the Hindu caste system and its Muslim version was that the former had the sanction of religion and change from one caste to the other was difficult. In the case of the latter there was greater mobility. Muslim caste system thus retained all the evils of the Hindu system minus its good points. These caste and tribal affiliations added to the racial, regional and sectarian

differences, weakened the cohesion and solidarity of Muslims and corroded the physical basis of their power.

According to Risley, "Islam is a force of the volcanic sort, a burning and integrating force, which, under favourable conditions may even make a nation. It melts and fuses together a whole series of tribes, and reduces their internal structure to one uniform pattern, in which no survival of pre-existing usages can be detected."[7] Islam in India, however, while professing to efface all distinctions of race, colour or geography fell a victim to the creeping influence of Hindu caste system.

The late Dr. Muhammad Iqbal thus summed up this position : "Is the organic unity of Islam intact in this land ? Religious adventurers set up different sects and fraternities, ever quarrelling with one another, and there are castes and sub-castes like Hindus. Surely we have out-Hindued the Hindu himself ! We are suffering from a double caste system—the religious caste system, sectarianism, and the social caste system which we have either learned or inherited from the Hindus. This is one of the quiet ways in which the conquered nations revenge themselves on their conquerors."[8]

The Muslim masses as such never actively participated collectively in determining how and by whom they shall be governed. Individually and collectively they are expected to obey for their own good and that of their soul, the laws of the *shariat* and the laws made by those in authority over them. That is why they have had little or no part in controlling or determining the course of history or share the responsibility for their destiny. In moments of crisis or political upheaval the people have become victims of, rather than intelligent and free agents, in determining the course of political and social developments. This explains partly the calamity which was slowly creeping in on them in the eighteenth century collectively, bad government being the divine punishment for evil deeds, inevitable and inescapable, for which the sinner and the innocent had to suffer equally.

The *ulema*, the traditional purveyors of spiritual food for the spiritually starved masses, appeared as a distinct group in Muslim society in the time of the Seljuks where as heads of the *madrasas* (educational institutions) they were expected to preserve the institutional basis of society and the doctrinal purity of Islam and thus

prevent the spread of heresies. Their activities were centred in educational and religious pursuits away from court politics bui they occasionally expressed their views about the legitimacy or otherwise of a particular government which in reality meant a particular ruler or dynasty. The *madrasas* became the citadels of conservatism and orthodoxy. The *ulema* rarely worked together and it was always possible to find an *alim* to give a *fatwa* in support of some government action or in refutation of some other *fatwa*. The emergence of the *ulema* as an actively vocal and organized class or as a politically "significant force" as pointed out by Dr. Smith, is a recent phenomenon. The foundation of a corps of *ulema* was laid by Shah Waliullah, and by the nineteenth century the *ulema* were well organized to give active lead to Muslim society. But it was a conservative body enmeshed in doctrinal matters and its radicalism, if any, was concentrated on the statement and enforcement of *shariat* rather than a rational attempt to come to grips with the political and economic problems of the day. The *ulema*, however, it must be said to their credit, preserved the entity of the Muslim community and its fundamental beliefs with or without the support of the State and in India particularly, saved it from being swallowed up in the insatiable and all-absorbing maw of Hinduism. In the propagation of Islam, in winning a large number of converts to it and maintaining a certain standard of good behaviour, the *sufis* played a very important role.

The *sufi* practices and beliefs soon entered into a silent compromise with popular Hinduism and the worship of saints, dead and alive, the reverence paid to tombs and relics, the belief in the efficacy of the intervention of the saints in winning a cherished thing or retarding an expected evil, coupled with pantheistic ideas borrowed from Hinduism, brought Islam perilously near the stage where syncretism was possible. The violent reaction which set in against this subtle process of assimilation and compromise found its expression in the writings of the *ulema* and the *sufis*, particularly Mujaddid Alif Sani, clearing the way for the rise of orthodoxy in the eighteenth century and the succeeding one. How far the subsequent Indian reform movements were influenced by the contemporary Wahabi Movement in Najd is difficult to say but most probably it was independent and indigenous to the soil.

The first non-political attempt to take stock of the situation and to revitalise the community is generally ascribed to Shah Waliullah and his successors. The prominence of Shah Waliullah as a theologian, jurist and thinker is undisputed. His piety, earnestness and erudition are above all doubt. He had detractors during his life-time and some modernists have tried to whittle down the value and the sigaificance of his teachings. Few other thinkers before or after him have contributed so much to the spiritual strengthening of Muslims and make them understand their role and their destiny in the subcontinent.

The eighteenth century released forces and gave birth to movements which broke down the traditional way of life and ushered in new ideas and new modes of thought which have gone to make the present age. The beginning of the crisis in the history of Muslims in India first appeared in the time of Shah Jahan and the critical stage was reached in different parts of the subcontinent at different times. This century is the most important period of our national history. Emphasis, however, has been laid in histories written by the British, as it was in the interest of the new rulers, on the depravity of the ruling classes and the appalling poverty and ignorance of the people. The brilliant achievements of this period of decline in fields of architecture, painting, music, literature, education, medicine and minor arts which contributed to gracious living have been ignored.

This century according to Goetz is a century of contrasts. The luxurious and extravagant living of the aristocracy, the luxuries of home and dress, the elegance of the ladies of the upper calasses, music and poetry, the extravagant celebrations connected with religious festivals contrast woefully with the misery of the peasants and the general licentiousness and depravity of the upper clsses. The literature of this age reflects the general listlessness and pessimism of the age, the acceptance of the transitoriness of all worldly glory, and the inevitability of the impending doom from which there was no flight or escape. The key to the understanding of the nature of this crisis lies in a closer and more searching inquiry into the various institutions which failed to hold the different components of the society of the times together, the absence of an ideal, and the complete moral bankruptcy of some of the leaders of this society.

A government that lives on the reckless exploitation of the many by a few has within itself the germs of its own destruction. The downfall of such a system was bound to come even without outside interference. Unlike European countries a revolution in the country did not take place. The tempo of the times was so fast and social forces so disorganized and in such a disarray that a social upheaval was out of question. What form an internal revolution, if it had come, would have taken is difficult to say, for a revolution is an avoidable evil, forming part of an evil already existing. "When one speaks of ideas that revolutionise an entire society one is merely bringing out the fact that in the womb of the old society the elements of a new society have already been formed, and that the dissolution of former ideas keeps step with the dissolution of former conditions of existence." A violent revolution was avoided by the new philosophy of action developed in the century to come. The end of this century contained the seeds of the new era. The actions of the succeeding age are the fossils on the study of which we can base the understanding of our subsequent history.

The main hurdle in the study of this century and its manifold problems is not the paucity of historical material ; as a matter of fact there is abundance of it. No other period of Indian history anterior to it has such wealth cf Indian and foreign writings but the irony is that this century—a century of lights and shades—inspite of the enormous collection of historical material pretaining to it, has not received the serious attention of our students and teachers of history. No attempt has been made to analyse and interpret historical forces and their social and economic background or to study the reasons which made appeal to ideologies or shibboleths so acceptable and so potent. The historical process is so personalized as to obscure the nature and content of the thoughts and feelings of the mass of the people. The impact of the West quickened the tempo of the process of historical change. It changed the stratification of society which had been immobile and inflexible so far and ushered in a new era.

The problems which a historian of this century is faced with may be briefly stated as under:

1. The historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

as well as the present century, have made no attempt to search for the motivating forces in the life of the people, or to explain their way of life and study the causes which made society static and immobile. Attention has been riveted on the life of the upper classes only. The Mughul nobility including the king's household, comprised less than one percent of the total population by the Empire. The main reason for this is that historical literature produced by historians was mainly intended for the edification of the upper classes as the lower classes were considered too ignorant and unimportant to profit by the study of the same. They were fed on romances or religious and hagiological literature relating to the life and activities of the saints. Even here more stress is laid on the *karamat* or miracles performed by them rather than their teachings.

2. That class struggle and class antagonism did exist and burst out violently at times of basic economic discontent under the garb of religious risings. Religion has been spoken of as an opiate of the people but whenever an appeal was made to religion the resultant struggle was most cruel and intense with complete disregard of the commonly accepted rules of conduct. Religion thus became, and can become, a powerful revolutionary force.

3. In spite of the devotion to the cause of Islam and the desire to make people conform to the orders and prohibitions of *shariat*, one notices a bleak antithesis between the spirit and letter of the law, The moral self-sufficiency of the puritans corroded their sense of social solidarity.

4. The religious leaders did little, with a few exceptions, to minister to the cause of the state or the material welfare of the people. They were too busy settling their own doctrinal disputes.

5. One notices in this age the growth of great landed proprietors, and a numerous landless class living partly on dole of the state or private charity. Beggary, which has been and is the bane of our society, continued unabated and nothing was done to check it. The beggar's blackmail was

encouraged by the parade of spurious piety which sacrifices character to formal piety. People submitted to the demand of beggars in order to secure reputation for charity while they were alive and to be prayed for their salvation after they were dead.

6. Behind the facade of hope and optimism built by politicians there remained the stark fear of poverty, inequality and insecurity.
7. The greatest single threat to economic progress on the one hand and the building up of character on the other was the search for security and the maintenance of status quo at any cost.
8. The bureaucracy was overgrown, imperfectly effective and devoted to selfish class interests and had become an instrument for tyranny in the hands of the state.
9. There was not, and could not be, any popular opposition to the government of the times in the modern sense of the word, as government was taken for granted.
10. The only two concepts which survived from the past were the divine origin of the king and that judicial authority was to be exercised in accordance with the *shariat.*
11. A middle class which had grown up in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan was becoming less powerful and effective.
12. The virtues which were cultivated and admired were military virtues. According to Toynbee when people are translated from condition of pressure to condition of peace their behaviour is demoralized.
13. The economic life of the country was ruined by maladministration, heavy taxation and rack-renting of the peasantry. This process was accelerated by the coming of the Europeans. The condition of Bengal in the eighteenth century is typical of what was happening elsewhere. In the seventeenth century Bengal was regarded as the industrial workshop of the world. Three-quarters of Bengal exports were in gold bullion. The British exploitation of the country was not a new thing. Other conquerors have done the same but this exploitation was more ingenuous and invidious. The

making and unmaking of Nawabs was a lucrative business-undertaking as a supplement to the legitimate and illegitimate gains of the traders and merchants.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century the Mughul Empire was in spite of internal discord amongst the members of the ruling class and the growing challenge of dissident groups within the Empire, the major political power and the only integrating force in the subcontinent. In the time of Alamgir the Mughul Empire had reached its widest limits. The extent of the Empire affected its cohesiveness as well as the effectiveness of the administration. The loss of Qandhar and the consequent set-back in Central Asia had been compensated by expansion of direct rule in the Deccan. But this expansion was of doubtful advantage as it staggered the resources of the Empire and weakened the central authority. It "destroyed the harmony between the economic, political and cultural elements in the body social and gave way to discord." "Geographical expansion," according to Toynbee, "is a social disease' and it affected the entire society in all fields of activity.

Even at a time when the Mughuls had lost all political power and the Mughul Emperors lived on the sufferance, first of the Marahathas and later that of the British, the Emperor's legal claim to sovereignty was still recognised. In 1774 the Peshwa solicited and received with solemn ceremony the insignia of certain dignities by the Emperor of Delhi. In Seringapattam when the body of Tipu Sultan had not yet become cold the representatives of the Nizam had the *khutba* read in the name of the Mughul ruler. In the words of Dr. Tara Chand, "The empire by ceasing to be a fact in the [illegible] become an accepted idea."[9]

The refractoriness of the Marahathas, the Jats and later of the Sikhs on the one hand and the Persian and Afghan invasions on the other, created widespread political corruption. The Mughuls tried to stand on the defensive and in the pursuit of this timorous policy accelerated the disintegration of the central authority of the Empire which created a political void and facilitated the imposition of foreign rule. The Mughul policy of accommodation and appeasement was powerless to save the dynasty. The peoples and princes allowed the mirage of their own past military triumphs to blind

them to realities. They failed to realise the extent or the nature of the mental and spiritual encirclement which lay at the root of the make-belief submission of the mentally nimble and shrewd Hindu masses.

The fall of the Mughul power has been by some regarded "in terms of a Muslim decline and Hindn revival, a view which has been challenged by such scholars as Dr. Percival Spear[10] and Dr. Tara Chand.[11] According to the former, the Hindu and Muslim cultures were both in this period static and stagnant as compared with the new outlook on life of the European people under the intellectual revolution of the Age of Reason or Enlightenment which posed intricate economic, political and social problems of world-wide significance. The Indian society was inward and backward looking while that of Evrope was outward and forward looking.[12] The coming of the Europeans and the impact of their technique and thought on the life of the people of this subcontinent created a silent revolution the nature and extent of which has not yet been properly assessed. This impact of the West, particularly after the Anglo-French confict in the Deccan (1746–1763), the occupation of Bengal (1757–1765) and the emergence of the British as the strongest and best organized European power in the subcontinent opened wide the floodgates of forces of disruption. Among the Muslims no capable statesman or soldier appeared with an all-India vision to save the tottering fabric of the Mughul Empire. Individually some of the new soldiers and statesmen, which the Empire had thrown out, were capable men but their political horizon was limited and their efforts cramped by regional, personal and family interests. The eighteenth century was an age of free-for-all competition to carve out principalities particularly by former governors of Mughul provinces and bold adventurers and free lances. There was no feeling of national togetherness or patriotism. The attempt of Alamgir to boost the prestige of the Mughul Empire on the basis of consolidation of Muslim community and restoring its dominant position may have saved the Muslim community from extinction as a separate entity but it did not save the Empire.[13] The collapse of the Safawi Empire and the rise of Nadir Shah and the subsequent establishment of an independent Afghan kingdom had far-reaching

economic, social and political effects. "The decline of Mughul power exposed," observes Dr. Spears "like a receding tide uncovering rocks, resistance to the whole regime which had been concealed in the flood tide of power."[14] As the political power and glamour of authority declined, the strength of the organized and determined resistance offered by the erstwhile quiescent Hindu groups with vested interests increased.

The eighteenth century is thus a period of crisis, of trial and tribulation for the Muslims of the subcontinent as it was for Muslims throughout the world. The gradual collapse of Mughul authority shifted the leadership from soldiers and statesmen to religious leaders and henceforth the interest shifts from the courts and camps of the rulers to the *khanqahs* and *Madrasas* of the *sufis* and the *ulema*. The movement of Hazrat Shah Waliullah and his successors was the "organized expression of a growing national movement." Studied in the context of the character and quality of the Muslim society in the eighteenth century it may be regarded as the dominant movement which sustained the Muslims during this critical period and helped them in maintaining their entity during the deluge that followed.

The Mughul Empire in Decline

The death of Aurangzeb Alamgir on March 3, 1707 A. C. is generally regarded as marking the beginning of the end of the Mughul Empire. If the implication is to hold Alamgir responsible for creating conditions which brought about the disintegration of the Empire then such an inference is neither correct [illegible]
[illegible]
internal and external enemies of the Empire no one would deny. For nearly half a century he maintained the power and prestige of the Mughul Empire, sustained the unity of the country so dear to him, and kept the ship of state on an even keel. These were his great and undisputed achievements. But the social, economic and administrative *malaise* of the Empire was so deep-rooted that no one could have permanently cured it.

Whether Alamgir who was the "ablest administrator that the Empire had ever known" could have successfully met the new chal-

lenges to Mughul authority or revitalized the administration to stand the new strains is difficult to determine. The immense and complex developments represented by Indian history and its extensive and diverse influences made any long range changes or adjustments difficult and uncertain. Prosperity and enjoyment had 'so enervated body and soul that their safety came to rest on the past victories rather than the present strength of the right arms."

The solutions he sought were by the nature of the situation temporary and ephemeral and his successors, less gifted and less capable than him, went down before the rising tide of factionalism, regionalism and socio-religious-political movements of the times. A careful analysis and assessment of these problems is essential for the proper understanding of the history of India and Pakistan during the eighteenth century. The study of the impact of these movements on the thought and actions of the leaders of Muslim society, honey-combed by sectarian and regional discord, without a sense of direction or purpose aud tragically unaware of or indifferent to the changing environment is equally relevant and essential for the purpose. The reign of Aurangzeb. writes Keene, "might appear to have been a time of recovery if it had not been the time of falling: the accounts of his death which have been preserved do not show any feelings of despondency as to the future of his empire... .."[15] It is only in the middle of the eighteenth century that one finds a growing awareness of the challenge and pressure of human environment and a feeiing of an anxiety amongst the leaders of the Muslim community. There is, however, no evidence of the Muslim community having been shaken [illegible] The political. social and religious movements of the eighteenth century produced the society which made a radical change in the social set-up and political alignments inevitable and "paved the way to the dominon of Britain."

The Administrative Structure of the Mughul Empire

The Padshah : The Mughul Empire was a highly centralized monarchy in which the monarch, styled as *Padshah*, occupied the pivotal position as the source of all authority claiming the unquestioned allegiance and absolute loyalty of all his subjects irrespective of religious, tribal or regional affiliations or personal or social status.

The emperors claimed to have derived the right to rule from God and as such owing responsibility for their actions to no individual or group of individuals. There were no constitutional check on their authority except their conscience, fear of palace revolutions, force of custom or religious and ethical traditions of their subjects.

The Mughul government organization was like a pyramid with the king at the apex of the pyramid squarely resting on the ruling class consisting of the near relations of the king—some of them occasionally in opposition — the army, the bureaucracy—a creature of the emperor—, the *ulema* and the *mashaikh*. The Mughuls, like the Abbasids before them, had "tamed and domesticated" the *ulema* and the *mashaikh* but there were some *alims* and *sufis* who had the courage of their convictions to express their disapproval of state policy and who were aware of the inherent dangers in the pursuit of such a policy. They, however, at the same time supplied the moral and religious sanction for the existence of the Mughul state. At the bottom of the pyramid stood the vast heterogenous mass of the king's subjects absorbed in their regional, ethnic and sectional loyalties and generally oblivious of or indifferent to both the glamour of the court life and the shady, sordid and often relentless pursuit of power and pelf by the upper classes. In such a system without any organized public opinion or definite rules about succession to the throne, the stability of the government and the survival of the dynasty depended on the personality of the ruler, his ability to maintain balance between the different sections of the ruling-class, and securing the contentment of the subjects. The *Padshah* had to choose his own system. If he was unequal, either by temperament or training to the task of government, and serious [illegible] deputies.

The Mughul Empire was multi-racial. multi-religious and multi-linguistic in a country and amongst a people whose separatist and parochial tendencies were deep rooted. This made the work of unification or integration of the otherwise mutually hostile and exclusive groups extremely difficult. The weakening of the authority of the ruler, or any diminution of his prestige, always led to disorganization and anarchy. This constant conflict between the emperor as the sole source of all authority and the latent desire of

the members of the ruling class to become independent of him runs like a red thread throughout the history of Mughul rule in the subcontinent.

The Ruling Class : The predominance of court and crown in the country was well established and generally recognized. The bureaucratization of the state enhanced the power of the nobility and enabled the ruling class to exercise great influence over the governed. The Mughul nobility, or more correctly the civil and military officers of state, and the distinguished *ulema and mashaikh,* was different in origin, composition and social and political status from the baronial class of contemporary European states. It was an aristocracy of service rather than of birth. In spite of the equality of all Muslims in the eye of law, descent from noble ancestors played a considerable part in the evolution of bureaucracy though this did not prevent men of humble origin or non-descript families from entering the charmed circle of Mughul nobility either by personal merit or by favour of a court favourite. This was so because of the needs and difficulties of the government amongst people of diverse character and traditions. The members of the nobility however, were constantly trying to transfer their offices, titles and sources of income to their children and adherents and to establish a hereditary ruling class not dependent on the emperor's continued favour. It was only natural, therefore, that such a class would during the lifetime covertly, and after the death of a ruler overtly, form themselves into groups on regional. tribal or sectarian basis for [illegible]. While a strong and capable ruler would keep a [illegible] mutual jealousies and rivalries to his own advantage, a weak ruler on the other hand would be dominated by one group to the disgust and annoyance of the other groups. These inter-group rivalries were endemic in the Empire and it were these which came out in the open after the death of Alamgir and constituted the greatest single cause of the weakness of the government. These factions were responsible directly and indirectly for the maladministration within the Empire, the fall in agricultural production and the fanning of the latent hostility of the Hindu upper classes to foreign rule. The Hindu subjects had never emotionally reconciled themselves to Muslim

rule. Every concession made to them by the fair-minded tolerant rulers awakened new hopes, particularly amongst the ruling class and the landed aristocracy, to recover their privileged position in society by exploiting the religious and tribal traditions of the masses to their own advantage.

The elaborate administrative machinery devised by Akbar who had the good fortune of having in his service some of the ablest administrators, statesmen, men of letters and military officers contributed considerably to the stability of the dynasty and the strength of the Empire. As long as the administration was strong and efficient under the able and vigilant care of the emperors, the zamindars and the feudatory Indian princes were kept in check. When the administration weakened, parochialism, regionalism, political, tribal and religious factionalism combined to undermine the unity of the Empire and expose it to foreign pressure and internal discord. These factious fights destroyed the political integration which Mughul genius had attempted to bring about. "This tussle, now open now concealed, between the zamindars and the central authority was a constant feature of medieval Indian society and powerfully influenced the development of many institutions."[16]

The Mughul bureaucracy with its carefully prescribed and regulated gardes, emoluments, perquisites, privileges and obligations was the creation of the king and was entirely dependent on him. The members of the ruling class on account of the privileges and high salaries enjoyed by them dominated the politics of the conntry as well as the social, artistic and econom[illegible]

service but the prevalent respect for birth and status, deeply imbedded in Muslim ethical conscience, made the ruling class a closed corporation in which personal merit came to count less and nobility of birth more than ever before. Selection of officers for the upper grade services was made by the emperor on the advice and recommendation of leading noblemen for the lifetime and during good behaviour of the incumbents. This prevented the growth of an independent hereditary peerage as a check on royal authorty. There was no specialisation except in lower grades and this prevented the growth of a professional civil service. The services vastly increased in numbers with the extension of the Empire. The bureaucracy became tyrannical

as the chosen instrument of state which stood apart from the public.

The Army : The army had lost its old morale and discipline and was less effective in the battlefield. There, however, was no difficulty in obtaining enough soldiers to meet the increasing needs of the Empire. After the loss of Qandhar the Mughuls had to depend more and more on Indian recruits from rural areas. This must have affected the quality of the army. The economic upsetting caused by long and enforced absences from their nominal occupations and sources of income must have been great. The army appears to have been open to all who wished to volunteer for it, military service "being a possible career instead of a civil responsibility." The failure of the Mughuls to stamp out rebellions was amongst other causes due to the changed character and composition of the army, the mode of warfare adopted by the rebel groups, bad tactics and bad strategy and above all to ill equipment. Military efficiency is incompatible with ease and luxury, and the contemporary European observers, though impressed by the dash and daring of the soldiers are contemptible of their equipment and discipline.[17] Moreover, it was a heterogenous group to which ethnic, tribal or religious affiliations of the entrants to service constituted no barrier. The cement which held the army together was common loyalty to a common master, the hope of preferment in life and of securing a political and social status in the state and society. This prestigious position of the bureaucracy and the army has persisted through centuries in nearly all Islamic countries.

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CHAPTER 1

THE POLITICAL SCENE AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Factions at the Mughul Court

Amongst the leading nobles of Alamgir there were several well organized but mutually exclusive and hostile groups—the Turanians and the Iranians. Other important groups were those of the Afghans, the Indian Muslims and the Rajputs. The last three groups were constantly shifting rheir support from the Turanians to the Iranians and *vice versa,* tilting the precarious balance between the two major parties. The leaders of the Iranian party were Wazir-ul-Mumalik Asad Khan and hls son Zulfiqar Khan, Bakshi-i-Mumalik. The family had migrated to India towards the end of Jahangir's reign, taken service under the Mughuls and had rapidly risen in rank and prestige. Muhammad Ibrahim, later known as Asad Khan (1625), won favour at the court of Shah Jahan. In 1676 he was appointed Wazir. After the capture of Golcunda (1687) he obtained the rank of 7000/7000.

Zulfiqar, son of Asad Khan (b.1649) received his first *mansab* in 1660. He served with distinction in various campaigns and attained the rank of 5000/5000 after the capture of Jinji in 1698. According to some contemporary observers it was after this that he began to entertain the ambition to carve out an independent principality for himself in the Deccan by placating the Deccani nobles and seeking an accommodation with Raja Ram.[1] He was appointed *Mir Bakhshi* in 1702. In 1706 Shahu was transferred to the army of Zulfiqar Khan who was now the key figure in Mughul—Marahatha negotiations and the most successful general of the time. His chief supporters were Daud Khan Panni, Raja Dalpat Bundhela and Rao Ram Singh Hadda.

The Turani group consisted of Ghazi-ud-Din Firoz Jang,[2] Hamid Khan Bahadur[3] and Muhammad Amin Khan.[4] Ghazi-ud-Din Khan (Mir Shahabuddin) first distinguished himself in the Rajput war

(1680-81). After the capture of Bijapur he got the rank of 7000/7000. His son, Chin Qulich Khan (b. 1671), participated in most of the campaigns with him and acquired considerable influence with Alamgir.

Muhammad Amin had come to India in 1687. After distinguishing himself as "a brave and intrepid warrior"[3] he was appointed *Sadr* in 1698. "Between these two groups of nobles," writes Dr. Sathish Chandra, "there was, from the beginning, a sense of rivalry and competition for royal favour. In particular, the two younger men Zulfiqar Khan and Chin Qulich Khan, had a keen sense of personal rivalry and did not get on well with each other. While such rivalry was by no means unusual and must not be exaggerated, the ambition of these two remarkable personalities and their efforts to clear their way to supreme power, constituted a fixed point in Mughul court politics for more than a quarter of a century, and powerfully influenced other developments during this period."[5]

The Rajputs

The Rajput marriages of Akbar and some of his successors did for the time being secure the collaboration of the Rajput princes—the traditional ruling class in Hindu society—in the Mughul attempt at expansion and consolidation of the Empire. The essence of the agreement with the Rajputs was the recognition of the reciprocal rights and obligations of each other. The high favours shown to the Rajput princes made them regard themselves as partners and partisans in Mughul government rather than its servants. From partnership to independence was an easy step. The fratricidal wars among Mughul princes gave them the opportunity to take sides in these wars of succession and the party that backed the winning claimant to the throne naturally made its own terms with the victor. This policy of propitiation proved a costly one and the scramble for power which followed the wars of succession involved a "vast expenditure of human happiness and human values." The positive result of this policy was to mobilise the best fighting sections of Indian people and to counterbalance the arrogance and ambition of foreigners in the service of the state. Negatively, it weakened and disarmed Hindu opposition and made the Mughuls lean too much on their support. The Rajput princes appear to have lost their vigour and political importance by the beginning of the eighteenth century and they no longer played a dominant role in Indian politics. From the middle of the eighteenth

century the Rajputs lapse into a state of helplessness and obscurity as soon as they lost imperial protection. Their lands were invaded and plundered by the Marahathas, the Jats and the Sikhs.

The Jats

The origin of the Jats is a disputed subject. They are believed by some scholars to have been the descendents of "Getae" of the Greeks, theYue-Chi of the Chinese. They settled in Northern Afghanistan before the Christian era. At the time of the invasion of Sind by the Arabs they were to be found in Baluchistan and along the course of the Indus. Amir Timur found them around Bhatinda. While some of them adopted Islam, others adopted Hinduism and later Sikhism. According to Amir Timur they were Muslims in name only who had not their equals in theft and high way robbery. By the time of Alamgir they had spread as far east as Agra, Mathra and Bharatpur.

The trouble with the Mughuls began in 1669. The Jats, mainly peasants, rose in rebellion under the leadership of Gokla, the zamindar of Tilpat. The rebellion was mainly due to maladministration and high-handedness of Mughul officers and was agrarian in origin. It was sparked off by the indiscreet religious fanaticism of Abdul Nabi Khan, *faujdar* of Mathra. Gokla succeeded in shooting dead the *faujdar* when he marched against him and looted the country around. A large Mughul army succeeded in defeating the rebels who had mustered 20,000 soldiers. Gokla was captured and later executed.

In 1685 the Jats began to give trouble again. They commanded the great royal road from Delhi to Agra and Dholpur connecting it with the road through Malwa to the Deccan. After the defeat and death of Gokla, the leadership passed to Rajaram and Ram Chehra, the petty zamindars of Sinsani and Sagar. They had trained the hardy peasants as soldiers, formed them into regiments and mounted and equipped them as freebooters. Alamgir appointed Raja Bishan Singh Kachhwah as *faujdar* of Mathra "to root out the Jats." After prolonged military operations the Jat stronghold of Sinsani and Sagar were stormed and captured (1690-91). The new Jat leader Churaman, who had a genius for organization made the Jats a formidable force as freebooters. By the time of Muhammad Shah they had become a terror for the countryside and plundered the royal baggage with impunity several times, The Jat army came to be popularly known

as "Ram Dal" thus giving it a semi-religious character.

"As the Jat rebellion progressed," writes Satish Chandra, "it became less a peasant uprising and more a movement of local chiefs against rival zamindars and for the acquisition of plunder. Although a Jat state could not be set up in time of Aurangzeb, the growth of the power of the Jat chiefs prepared the ground for such a development later on."[6]

The Marahathas

The rise of the Marahathas under Sivaji is generally regarded as anti-Muslim, anti-Mughul movement by some European, Hindu aad Muslim writers, as "the revenge of Hindu element on the Muslim element, the beginning of the Brahmanic population's recovery of India from the Turco-Iranian conquerors."[7] According to Reincourt the rise of the Marahathas "implied a rebirth of Hindu power and sentiment stimulated by inter-Muslim quarrels."[8] But it was not in its inception either anti-dynastic or anti-Muslim.[9] It was, however, the first attempt and a successful adventure to take advantage of the political and military situation in the south to build up an independent Hindu kingdom and as such to inspire the Hindus in other parts of the Empire. One of the main concerns of the Mughul emperors had been, from the time of Alamgir onward to contain the growing pretensions of the Marahathas. Alamgir was willing to concede certain dignities and emoluments to Sivaji but he ignored the latter's demands about *sardeshmukhi* and *chauth*.[10] Alamgir had to fight against the Marahathas in the Deccan (1681-1707) but though he scattered and dispersed them he could not destroy their power. As a matter of fact they emerged stronger and more unreconciled and intransigent after the long drawn struggle against the Mughuls. Alamgir had over-estimated his own strength and under-estimated the vigour and effectiveness of Marahatha resistance. The work begun by Shahji, the father of Sivaji, was accomplished by the latter. The Marahathas for more than a century constituted the greatest danger to the territorial integrity of the Empire and the unity of the country. They could not step into the shoes of the Mughuls but indirectly paved the way for the British occupation of the country.

The Marahatha, Jat and Sikh risings were the inevitable results of the Hindu awakening during a long period of peace and prosperity which the Mughuls had given to this subcontnent. It sprang from

"the ever present seeds sown centuries ago by Akbar's unitarian efforts."[11]

The Sikhs

The rise of Sikhism as a result of the teachings of Guru Nanak (born April 15, 1469) and its subsequent development as a politico-religious movement culminating in the establishment of an independent but ephemeral Sikh kingdom in 1799. is an event of great historical importance in the social, political and religious history of India and Pakistan. When Guru Nanak proclaimed his mission in 1499 he was only one of the many fifteenth century reformers fighting against caste and class restrictions, inequalities of wealth and opportunities, exploitation of the poor and the ignorant and the dead weight of religious rituals and dogmatic hair-splitting theology. He worked to free the human mind, restore human dignity and create more harmonious relationship between the followers of different religions. The rapidly changing political, economic and religious milieu changed the pacifist religion into a militant materialistic religo-political community. It has become fashionable to regard the Marahatha, Jat and Sikh movements as nationalist movements, the Sikh movement being regarded as "Punjabi nationalist movement." These movements were anything but national and they amongst themselves, contributed considerably to create a rift amongst the people of this subcontinent and the ultimate balkanisation of it in the eighteenth century.

Guru Nanak died on September 22, 1539, universally respected by all sections of the people "as the king of holy men, the Guru of the Hindus, and the Pir of the Mussalmans."[12] He had nominated one of his disciples, Lehna, as his successor in preference to his elder son, Sri Chandra. The new Guru came to be known as Angad (1504—1522), The latter began to quietly and unobtrusively establish Sikh centres. He evolved a new script, later known as Gurmukhi, for the recording of religious hymns and stressed the importance of physical training to use force against force if the need arose.[13] He selected as his successor Amar Das (1532—1574) ignoring the claims of his sons. Akbar is reported to have visited him at Govindwal and assigned the revenue of several villages to the Guru's daughter as a marriage gift. It was in his time that a break was made with Hindu ritual and religion and Sikhism acquired a new entity and a new content. Amar Das nominated Ram Das (1574—1581), his son-in-law, as his

successor. Ram Das was the first of the successors of Guru Nanak to nominate his youngest son, Arjun Mal (1581—1601) as the Guru. Whereas the relations between the Sikh Gurus and the Mughuls had been so far cordial, it was during the time of Guru Arjun that seeds of dissension were sown which rent asunder the Sikhs and the Muslims, and the passage of time has not brought them nearer to each other.

Guru Arjun from the very outset had to face the hostility of his elder brother, Prithi Chand, and that of the Hindus who feared him and were jealous of the growing popularity of Sikhism. One of the first acts of the Guru was to complete the building of a temple at Chak Ram Das (later Amritsar). According to Sikh tradition, Hazrat Mian Mir of Lahore was invited to lay the foundation of the Harimandir.[14] Hazrat Mian Mir is also reported to have interceded with Jahangir on behalf of Guru Arjun.[15] He instituted the levying of a tax on income from the Sikhs which tithe was collected through *masands*. This strengthened and stabilized the economic basis of the *panth*. The Guru travelled widely and raised several new towns—Taran Taran (1590), Kartarpur, Sri Hargovindpur and a *baoli* in Dabbi Bazar, Lahore. These towns became the outposts of the Sikhs and cells for the propaganda of their faith and places of pilgrimage, thus diverting the Sikhs from other non-Sikh religious places. His next self-imposed task was the compilation of an authentic text of the writings of the Sikh Gurus. Akbar, when portions of the text were read out to him, made an offering of fiftyone gold *mohurs* to the sacred book.[16]

By the time of Jahangir the Sikhs had been well organized. Guru Arjun came to be addressed as *Sacha Padshah*. The making of large scale conversions to Sikhism was a significant development to the militant transformation of Sikhism. Guru Arjun fell foul of the Mughul government and his association, however indirect or distant, with the rebel Prince Khusrau, resulted in the arrest and subsequent death of Guru Arjun (May 30, 1606). This is the turning point in the otherwise amicable relations between the Sikhs and the Mughul government and the Sikhs and the Muslims.[17]

Guru Arjun was succeeded by Guru Har Govind (1606—1644). The last message he had received from his father read as follows : "Let him sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability."[18] Har Govind adopted the life of a soldier, wore a sword contrary to the custom of his father, maintained a

retinue and began to follow the chase.[19]

Jahangir called upon Har Govind to pay the fine that had been imposed on Guru Arjun and had not been paid in his life-time. Failure to pay this by Guru Har Govind led to his arrest and confinement in Gwalior fort for about a year. On release he continued to recruit armed retainers, including Pathan mercenaries, and training them as soldiers.

Har Govind travelled widely and built as a retreat for himself the town of Kiratpur. His pretensions brought him into conflict with the Mughuls during the reign of Shah Jahan—once in Amritsar, a second time near Lahore and then at Kiratpur. After this he retired to Kiratpur. He nominated Har Rai (1644-1661) to succeed him as the seventh Guru.

Guru Har Rai continued the consolidation of the Sikhs. He became friendly with Dara Shikoh whom he is reported to have cured of the effects of poison.[20] This made him a suspect in the eyes of Aurangzeb because of the rumour of the sympathies of the Guru with Dara during the Civil War.[21] Aurangzeb, however, left him alone.

Guru Har Rai nominated his younger son, Hari Krishna, in preference to Ram Rai who had won the favour of Aurangzeb. The latter in order to arbitrate between the rival claimants to Guruship summoned the Guru to the capital. Hari Krishna went to Delhi but died there of smallpox.

The new Guru, Tegh Bahadur (1664-1675), undertook a long journey eastward and went as for as Sylhet, Chittagong and Sondip. His son Govind was born in Patna during his travels. On his return he was summoned to Delhi and was charged with subversive activities. According to Sikh accounts a delegation of Kashmiri Brahmins had approached the Guru to help them out of their predicament: they had been ordered to accept conversion to Islam. The Guru is alleged to have advised them to tell the Mughul official that if Tegh Bahadur would accept conversion they would follow suit. The Guru was consequently summoned to Delhi but refused to renounce his faith. He was tried by the Qazi, sentenced to death and executed on November, 11. 1675, during the absence of Aurangzeb from the capital.

According to the author of the Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, "Teg Bahadur gathering many disciples became powerful, and thousands of people accompanied him. A contemporary of his, Hafiz Adam, who was

a fakir belonging to the order of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi had gathered about him a great multitude of followers. Both of these took to the practice of levying forcible exactions and moved about in the land of the Punjab. Tegh Bahadur took money from Hindus and Hafiz Adam from Musalmans. The royal newswriters wrote to the Emperor that two fakirs, one Hindu and the other Muslim named so-and-so, had taken to that practice. It would not be strange if, with the increase of their influence, they created trouble."[23]

Guru Tegh Bahadur was succeeded by his nine year old son, Govind Rai. For sometime he lay low but the machinations of Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur made him take up arms against him. After defeating the Raja in 1686 he shifted to Anandpur. He was again drawn into conflict with the government for his support of the hill chiefs, but the latter chiefs were brought to submission by the Mughuls and the Guru was left in peace.

Guru Govind Singh now took the most significant step of his life, "to end the line of personal gurus and invest the guardianship in something premanent and inviolable." For spiritual guidance the Granth Sahib was deemed sufficient and for temporal matters selected representatives could take decisions on behalf of the *panth*, This was the institution of the Khalsa in 1699. Five emblems ware prescribed for the Sikhs—*Kes* (hair) *Kanga* (comb), *Kachha* (short underwear) *Kara* (steel bracelet), and *Kirpan* (short sabre). "The simple ceremony of baptism of five of his followers transformed the sect of pacifists...into a militant brotherhood of crusaders." The institution of *masands* was abolished and many of the Khatri converts left the pale or offered lip service only to the newly constituted *panth*. "The leadership now passed into the hands of the Jats ond the rise of militant Sikhism becams the rise of Jat power in the Punjab." The Sikhs were now infused with a new determination and courage and fulfilled the promise made by the Guru that he would train the sparrow to hunt the hawk and make one man fight a legion.

The hill chiefs apprehensive of the rising power and popularity of the Sikhs succeeded in appealing to and getting assistance from the Mughuls. Govind Singh was besieged in Anandpur but succeeded in escaping with the help of two Pathan adherents. His four sons were captured and executed. Govind now took refuge in Kot Kapura and then at the village of Khidarana, later renamed Muktesar. A letter that he sent to Aurangzeb was received by the latter in the Deccan. Aurangzeb issued orders that the Guru was not to be molested. The

Guru himself had left the Punjab to meet the Emperor but he received the news of the death of Alamgir on reaching Rajputana.

Govind now joined Bahadur Shah I and helped him according to Bahadur Shah Nama in the Civil War. Later he accompanied the Emperor to the Deccan. He reached Nander, a small town on the banks of the Godawari in September. While encamped there he was stabbed by two young Pathans. He died of his wounds on October 7, 1708.

The rise of the Sikhs to power and the founding of the short lived Sikh Kingdom in the Punjab was made possible by the organizational ability of the Sikh Gurus from Guru Arjun to Guru Govind, the agrarian unrest in the Punjab, the weakening of the power and effectiveness of the provincial government and the continual pressure on western frontiers of the Empire. The induction of religion into the conflict with the government of the time made the struggle more bitter. Persecution rather than weaken the Sikhs steeled their determination to secure greater autonomy and avenge the death of their gurus. Religion can be a source of revolution and a compressing consolidating force. As a Sikh song put it "Mannu (Mir Mannu, the Governor of Lahore) is our sickle, and we are crop for him to mow; the more he cuts us the more we grow." The war of retaliation against the Muslims by the Sikh Jat peasantry reached its peak point under Banda Bairagi. When questioned as to why he perpetrated cruelties even on innocent people he is reported to have replied.

"I will tell you; whenever men become so corrupt and wicked as to relinquish the path of equity and abandon themselves to all kinds of excesses, then Providence never fails to raise up a scourage like me to chastise a race so depraved, but when the measure of punishment is full then he raises up men like you to bring him to punishment."[24]

THE EUROPEANS

The Portuguese

"The entry of the Portuguese into Indian history arose from a combination of fear, jealousy and zeal, of the encroaching power of Islam upon Christendom, jealousy of the monopoly of trade in the products of the Indies held by the Muslim powers in the eastern Mediterranean, and zeal for the prospect of spreading Christianity among the heathens."[5] The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 and the consolidation of their power in Asia Minor

had cut off the old avenues of trade of European countries with the east. Portugal which had recently thrown off the Arab yoke took the lead in discovering new trade routes and organised a new crusade against Islam.

After preliminary survey of the western coast of Africa a royal fleet was fitted out and Vacso da Gama led by an Arab pilot rounded the Cape of Good Hope and anchored off the coast of Malabar in 1498. When he landed at Calicut he was asked what he had come for. He replied, "Christians and spices." A few years later an expedition came to Cochin. The Portuguse soon ousted the Muslim middlemen and Arab and Turkish traders who controlled the lucrative carrying trade in the Indian ocean and the Indies. The Portuguese power in the east based on sea-power was established by Alfonso de Albuquerque who was governor in the East from 1509 to 1515. He acquired Ormuz in 1509, Goa in 1510, and Malacca in 1511. The Portuguese set up posts in East Africa and Scotra off the Red Sea, at Diu in Gujarat and Colombo in Ceylon. Albuquerque "thus spun, as it were a spider's web to enmesh the trade of south Asia."[25] Merchant settlements were also established on the east coast in Bengal and on the Coromandal coast. The Portuguese soon lost their primacy in the east with the absorption of Portuguese in Spain in 1580 and the appearance of the Dutch, the French and the English on the scene. The Portuguese tried to combine piracy, commerce and Christianity and "left a reputation for fanaticism and perfidy."[26]

The English

In 1599/1600 was formed in London the East India Company which was fully organized by 1603. The first voyage was for Sumatra, but it was soon decided to expand the trade with India and establish factories there. William Hawkins arrived in Surat in 1608 and travelled to Agra (1609) where he won the favour of Jahangir. On account of the opposition of the Portuguese his mission to the Mughul Court was a failure. A factory, however, was established at Surat towards the end of 1612. Surat remained the headquarters of the Company from 1618 to 1687. James I sent Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to Jahangir. Roe was in India from 1615 to 1619 and succeeded partially in his mission. A factory was opened at Armagaon, north of Pulicat, and at Madras in 1641. Factories were also established in Bengal and Orissa and by 1647 the Company "operated twentythree Indian establishments." In 1668 Charles II transferred Bombay to the Company.

In 1686 a quarrel arose about custom dues in Bengal. The English had acquired *firmans* to trade in Bengal in 1651 and 1672 and later in 1680 relieving them from custom dnes. The English abused these privileges and later in their pride declared war on the Mughuls with ten armed vessels and 6000 men. Sir Joshua Childe had earlier remarked that the Company should begin to lay "the foundations of a large, well grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come." The English received a sound beating and they had to abandon their conquests and their factories. But Alamgir's treaty of 1690 was a mild one. Charnock was permitted to return to the English settlement, later known as Calcutta. In 1696 the English were permitted to erect a fort which was named Fort William in 1699. By 1735 Calcutta had a population of 1,00,000 and flourishing trade. "The Bengal trade continued to grow rapidly; in 1668 the Company exported from the province goods worth £ 34,000, in 1675 the value rose to £85,000, in 1677 to £1,C0,000 and in 1680 to £1,50,000. The first British ship sailed up the Ganges from the Bay of Bengal in 1697. In 1696 the English, the Dutch and the French were permitted to fortify their factories. Madras which had been acquired in 1641 grew in population and trade like Calcutta.

The Dutch

The second European power that joined the race of trade with East was that of the Dutch. The Dutch War of Independence and the English defeat of the Armada in 1588 "left the way open for maritime adventure in the East." The Dutch East India Company started "to control the spice trade at the source of supply, Indonesia" by fixing their base at Batavia (modern Jakarta in Java), Malacca, Ceylon and Malabar but left Goa alone. Dutch factories were established at Surat, Cochin, Negapatam, Masulipatam, Chinsura and Agra. Their influence on the history of the subcontinent was small. The Dutch records and the reports to their principals supply valuable economic, social and historical information. "The real importance of the Dutch in India was not their physical presence but the fact that their grip of the Eest Indies compelled the English to concentrate on India. It was the Dutch dog in the East Indian manger which turned the English horse to Indian pastures."[27]

The French

The French were the last of the European powers to enter the scene of commercial ventures in the East. Early efforts of the French Minister, Colbert, in 1664 to establish a company did not materialise.

The first French factory was established by Francois Carou in 1698, followed by one at Masulipatam in 1669. Pondicherry was settled in 1674 by Francois Martin and Chandernagar in 1690—1692. In 1693 the Dutch captured Pondicherry which was returned to the French in 1697. Martin, reappointed to this settlement, restored its prosperity and in 1706 it had a population of about 40,000 as compared with the 22,000 of Calcutta in the same year. The fortunes of the French Company continued to remain deplorable till its reconstitution in 1720. From 1720 to 1742 the Company prospered under the administrations of Lenoir and Dumas. With the appointment of Dupleix the Company began to cherish the ambition of a French empire in India. By this time the Protuguese and Dutch had lost power. In their struggle for supremacy the French were challenged by the English. This conflict ultimately resulted in the liquidation of French power at Wandiwash (1760).

A disturbing feature of this period is the large scale piratical moves of the Europeans who held up pilgrim traffic, captured and looted vessels plying along the coast and levied exactions from the merchants, the owners of the ships and the port towns. The weakness of the Mughul power on the sea and the cupidity of the port officers made effective reprisals against the pirates impossible. According to Khafi Khan "the total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betel-nuts and cocoanuts does not reach to two or three lacs of rupees. The profits of the commerce of these misbelievers according to report, does not exceed twenty lacs of rupees. The balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year. When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mecca and Jedda laden with the goods of Hindustan, they do not interfere with them, but when they return bringing gold, and silver and Ibrahimi *rials* their spies have found out which ship bears the richest burden and they attack it." After various unsuccessful attempts the English, the Dutch and the French were compelled to give an agreement in 1698 to be responsible for the suppression of piracy and to pay for all losses suffered on the seas. According to the terms of this agreement, "the Dutch conveyed the Mecca pilgrims and patrolled the south Indian seas, while the French made a similar payment and policed the Persian Gulf."

There was some abatement in piracy but the Europeans, and later the Marahathas, made all traffic by sea difficult and hazardous. The

absence of an effective navy made it diffcult for the Mughuls to arrest the rise of European imperialism in the East. All that they succeeded in doing was to assert and maintain the semblance of overlordship and covertly overlook the piratical acts of the Europeans. "In the conflicts which the empire had with the European factories at different towns the imperial authorities were powerless to enforce their decrees ......In general the recurring fights between the Mughuls and the naval powers were fights between the elephant and the whale, the one helpless against the other........"

THE PRESSURE ON THE NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER

From Akbar onward the Mughuls had concentrated on the extension and consolidation of their Empire within India jealously maintaining at the same time the security of their north-western frontiers and their possessions beyond the mountains. The balance of power in Central Asia was upset by the weakening of the Safawid and Uzbeg powers which made the problem of defence more acute. A brief account of the military and political condition in neighbouring territories is given below in order to understand the nature and extent of the challenge to the Mughul Empire and the Muslim people in the subcontinent during the post-Alamgir period.

The Safawi Empire and Its Decline

"Few dynasties", writes Percy Sykes, "have lived so long and successfully upon their reputation as did that of the Safavis". After the death of Shah Abbas decline set in soon. After his death Shah Abbas was succeeded by Shah Safi (1629-1692) whose reign of thirteen years was marked by bloodshed. The Uzbegs continued raids into Khorasan and they succeeded in driving away the Persian Governor from Qandhar. The Turks under Murad IV captured Hamadan in 1630, and Erivan and Tabriz in 1635. In 1638 Baghdad was lost to the Turks.

Shah Safi was succeeded by Abbas II (1642-1667), a boy ten years old. He recoverd Qandhar and the country returned to prosperity and happiness. The Uzbeg prince, Nazr Muhammad, was given hospitality in Persia when he fled there from Bokhara. A Russian embassy, first of its kind, was received in 1664 and it is from this time that Russian aggressive policy against Iran started.

Sulaiman (1667-1694) ascended to the throne in 1667. The decline of the empire continued as did the increase of European interest and Uzbeg aggression against the Persians. Shah Sulaiman was succeeded

by Sultan Husain in 1684. Peter the Great sent an embassy in 1708 and another in 1715. The position of the Persians in the Persian Gulf continued to become weak. The Afghans despoiled the central and southern provinces while Turkey and Russia chopped off large territories from western and northern Persia respectively.

The decline of the Persian Empire which synchronized with that of the Mughul Empire created a political void in Central Asia which had far-reaching effects on the economic, political and military situation in India and the neighbouring countries. It led to the establishment of a national Afghan state in Afghanistan, and exposed the Mughul Empire to foreign pressure. These political changes dried up that great human reservoir, Central Asia, which had supplied fresh and vigorous blood revitalizing Indian Muslim society. But whether this inflow was good or bad in the long run for the Muslim community is a disputed point which would repay more detailed study. The political and economic changes in Central Asia brought Central Asia within the orbit of imperal European politics and indirectly helped the projection of British influence in trans-Satlaj and trans-Indus regions.

The Ghilzais of Qandhar

At this time the Ghilzais were most powerful in the province of Qandhar. Their turbulence and suspected intrigues with the court of Delhi resulted in the appointment of Gurgin,[28] a prince of Georgia, as Governor, who succeeded in rivetting the yoke of Persia on the province "more securely than before." Gurgin captured Mir Waiz, the chief of the Ghilzais, and sent him to the capital. Mir Waiz soon became a favourite of the Shah and was allowed to go back to Qandhar in 1708. He soon succeeded in haviug his arch enemy, Gurgin Khan, murdered. The Persian garrison was massacred and Qandhar occupied in 1709. Energetic and capable, he consolidated his power by bringing together the various tribes under his banner and proclaiming himself independent of Persia. He proclaimed Afghan independence at Qandhar in 1709. The rise of Ghilzais pushed the Abdalis for the time being in the background. A Persian army sent against him was defeated in 1711. Mir Waiz died in 1715 and was succeeded by his brother Abdullah who drew upon himself the wrath of his tribesmen by opening negotiations for a settlement with the Persians. He was murdered by his own tribesmen and the leadership of the tribe

passed into the hands of Mahmud, the eldest son of Mir Waiz. Herat declared itself independent of Persia under Asadullah, the Abdali chief. The Persians failed to dislodge the Abdalis and the Abdalis "won their freedom and henceforth constituted a second independent state on the frontier of Persia."

In 1720 Mahmud advanced against Kirman but was driven back. The plots and intrigues at the Persian court prevented the Persians from pushing their advantage further and Mahmud invaded and revaged the Persian territories again in 1722. He defeated a large Persian army at Gulnabad in 1722 and captured Farrahabad and invested Ispahan. The town was captured and Husain, the last Safawi ruler, resigned the empire to Mahmud. "Thus ignominously fell the splendid Safavi dynasty." His successor, Shah Tahmasp, lingered on as the shadow of the once magnificent Safawi power. Kashan and Kizwin surrendered to the Afghans. An insurrection in Kashan was the first setback received by Mahmud and in retaliation he massacred a large number of Persians in Ispahan (1723). Shiraz was captured in 1724 but an attack on Bunder Abbas was beaten back. Before his death he had captured most of southern and central Persia.

Mahmud died in 1725 and was succeeded by Ashraf, a nephew of Mir Waiz. He concluded a teraty with the Turks by which he acknowledged the Turkish Sultan as Khalifa and in return Ashraf was recognized as Shah of Persia. But Ashraf's position was not secure. He received little or no assistance from Qandhar and few recruits from the tribes. Tahmasp now aided by Fath Ali Khan Kachar and Nadir Quli Khan Afshar resumed his activities against the Afghan usurpers. Nadir Quli with his contingent of Afshar and Kurd tribesmen recaptured Herat and Meshhad and was rewarded with the title of Tahmasp Quli Khan. The latter pushed on against the Afghans who were defeated in two successive battles in 1729. The recapture of Ispahan followed soon afetr. The Afghans were finally routed in 1730. Ashraf fled away and was killed in 1730. The Afghans lost the empire which that they had won more by the folly of the Safawis than their own valour or superior statesmanship.

The rise of Nadir Shah.

Nadir Quli was the son of Imam Quli of Afshar tribe. He was born in 1688. His early years were passed in poverty. At the age of eighteen he entered the service of Baba Ali Beg, Governor of Abivard, He later married the daughter of his master and succeeded

to the governorship of Abivard. He served the Afghan chief Malik Mahmud for sometime but was dismissed from service and took to robbery. Collecting a number of swashbucklers he captured Kalat and later Nishapur. He now joined Tahmasp and in his name captured Mashhed. Shah Tahmasp was defeated by the Turks and was compelled to conclude a humiliating treaty with them. Nadir refused to accept the terms, marched upon Ispahan, captured the impoverished Tahmasp and set up an infant son of the latter on the throne. He then proclaimed himself as regent. On the death of the Shah he ascended the vacant throne of the Safawis in 1736.

Nadir Shah now started on his ambitious career of consolidating his rule and extending the limits of the Empire by leading a punitive expedition against the Bakhtiyaris. A determined campaign against Qandhar led to its capture in 1737-1738. The Ghilzais were removed to Nishapur and Abdalis settled in their place in the Qandhar district.

During the blockade of Qandhar, Nadir Shah who had been receiving reports of the collusion of the Delhi government with the rebellious Afghans had sent a letter to Delhi requesting that "no foreigners should be allowed to find asylum across the frontier." The Delhi Government though professing that it had rendered no assistance or encouragement to the Afghans, failed, however, to prevent the Afghan rebels from finding asylum in Kabul and the country around. This may have been due to the helplessness of the Mughuls, their culpable negligence or deliberate attempt to embarrass Nadir. Nadir Shah determined to punish the Mughuls and his invasion of India in 1739 and the spoilation of Delhi and the country around were long remembered as the worst calamity the Empire had suffered. The invasion of Nadir is a landmark in the history of the Mughuls. Till the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739)" there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce and agriculture flourished exceedingly, and none felt the hand of oppression but those who were dangerous by their wealth and power."

The invasion of Nadir Shah weakened the western ramparts of the Empire and laid it open to Afghan invasions. He had recovered all the provinces on the right bank of the Indus which had once formed part of the Persian Empire. An expedition into Sind resulted in the defeat of Khudayar Khan Abbasi. Nadir conducted successful campaigns against Bokhara and Khiva, recovered the lost Persian provinces from the Turks and his empire now extended from the Oxus on the north to the Indus on the south. Nadir Shah

did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his labours. He was assassinated in 1747.

The Rise of the Durranis

The death of Nadir Shah was a signal for anarchy in the country. One of his officers, Ahmad Khan Abdali, who commanded the Afghan and Uzbeg contingents broke away from the army, captured Qandhar, reduced the whole of Afghanistan and occupied Herat and Meshhad. From the famous diamond he captured in one of his campaigns, he came to be styled as Durr-e-Dauran and his family as the 'Durannis.' Ahmad Shah now appeared on the frontiers of the Mughul Empire which he invaded and ravaged several times. He set up the first national kingdom of Kabul.

Ahmad Shah Durrani. (1747-72)

The two most powerful clans amongst the Afghans at this time were those of the Ghilzais and the Abdalis. Among the latter the leading sections were the Popilzais and the Barakzais. The most important families were the descendents of Sado and Muhammad and their descendants played an important role in the history of the Afghans during the following centuries.

Ahmad Khan on his election as king assumed, as already mentioned, the title of Durr-e-Dauran and the Abdalis came to be known as Durranis. The decadence of the Mughul Empire and the anarchy following the death of Nadir Shah in Persia created a political void in the region and Abdali started to take full advantage of it. He seized Kabul in 1748. In the same year after an intitial setback he secured the trans-Indus territories including the province of Sindh. He next directed his attention towards extending Afghan dominion in areas north and northwest of Hindukush and by 1750 he assumed control of the country lying between the Indus and Oxus rivers. On 12 January, 1757 the Khutba was read in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani at Delhi. In 1760 he occupied Delhi. In January 1761 was fought one of the great battles of Indian history (the third battle of Panipat) the issue being then as it is today, whether "Hindu or Muslim should dominate northern India." In 1762 Ahmad Shah defeated a Sikh army and annexed Kashmir. The rapidly changing military and political situation in northern India and risings in home provinces made Ahmad Shah give up the central Punjab to the Sikhs while retaining control of Peshawar and the northern Punjab. Illness forced him to retire from active life and entrust the reins of government to his second son, Timur Shah. He died in 1773. His great

achievement was to have welded the Afghans into a nation. To him the Afghan nation "owes its political survival." Jealousies and feuds amongst rival claimants to the throne did much to weaken the newly founded Afghan empire. Suleiman Mirza was the first to proclaim himself king in Qandhar, but he was defeated and driven to take refuge in India. Timur Shah shifted his capital to Kabul but his troubles were not yet over. In 1779 there was a revolt in Sindh which though suppressed resulted in the foundation of independent rule there. There were similar troubles in the northern provinces. Timur died in 1793. Timur had 23 sons but had nominated no successor. His fifth son Zaman Shah assumed power in Kabul though his claim was challenged by some of his brothers. The Sikhs in the Punjab and the Talpurs in Sindh became a source of constant danger. The Sikhs seized Lahore in 1795. Zaman Shah's end came in 1800 when he was defeated and blinded by his brother. Mahmud in his turn was ousted by Shah Shuja. Mahmud recovered power again in 1809 but the downfall of the Saddozai family came in 1818. The rapid military and political changes in Persia, the Russian push into Central Asia, the rise of the independent Afghan kingdom in Kabul dominated the political scene on the north-western frontiers of India. These events had repercussions in the subcontinent in the social, political and economic fields and will be discussed in their proper place in the succeeding chapters.

The Afghan society in the eighteenth century was according to Prof. E.M. Reisner "partly tribal and partly feudal," and further the Afghan struggle for national independence against the Safawis and the Mughuls "at once grew into a war of conquest aimed at the plunder of the neighbouring peoples." The rise of the Afghans to power in the eighteenth century created a disturbing factor for the Mughuls, and the Afghans hung like a thunder cloud on the western frontiers of the Mughul Empire, dried up the recruiting grounds of the Mughuls and closed the old trade routes with Central Asia. Their invasions delayed but did not prevent the projection of Marahatha terror in Northern India. They disrupted the Mughul Empire, impoverished the country and left the princes more disorganised and disunited. The effects of the Afghan invasions of India in the eighteenth century are thus summed up by Prof. Reisner:

"The Afghans acted as the allies of the Mughuls and the Muslim

kingdom, weakened the Sikhs and delayed the formation of a Sikh state by at least thirty years, prevented the Marahathas from establishing their domination over the whole of India. Therefore, by weakening the only power that was capable of resisting the expansion of the East India Company, the Afghans facilitated the establishment of British rule in the country."[29]

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CHAPTER II

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALAMGIR

(Bahadur Shah I To Muhammad Shah)

1707—1748

Section I : Bahadur Shah I (1707—1712)

The Civil War

Alamgir is said to have contemplated the division of the Empire amongst his sons in order to avoid a civil war. General advice to his successor, whoever he may have been, was contained in his will written in his own hand and found under his pillow.[1] Another will is given in Hamid-ud-Din's Ahkam-i-Alamgiri.[2] The character and temperament of the sons as well as the tradition of the family of Babur from Jahangir onwards made a recourse to arms to settle the question of succession inevitable.

Alamgir had five sons and five daughters. The eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, died during the lifetime of his father on 14 December, 1676, at the age of thirteen. The second son, Muhammad Muazzam, was born on 14 October, 1643. His mother, Nawab Bai, was the daughter of the Raja of Rajauri in Kashmir. He had seen active service during his father's reign in the Deccan and the Konkan. In 1687 he incurred the displeasure of his father and was placed under arrest. He was restored to favour in 1695, and was appointed governor of Akbarabad in 1695 and that of Kabul in 1699. His father had conferred on him the title of Shah Alam. He was in Jamrud when he heard of the illness and subsequent death of his father.

The third son, Azam Shah, had been appointed governor of Gujarat in 1701. Before the death of Alamgir, Azam Shah who had high hopes of succeeding his father to the throne persistently sought permission to join his father who was then in the Deccan to which Alamgir reluctantly agreed. Azam thus was near his father during his last illness. The fourth son, Akbar, born in 1657 had rebelled against his father in 1680 and having been defeated had fled to the Marahatha court of Sambhaji and thence to Persia. He died at Meshhad on 31 March, 1704. Kam Bakhsh, the youngest son, was appointed governor of Bijapur. Thus of the twenty subahs of the

Empire, 12 were assigned to Prince Muazzam who had received the title of Shah Alam, six to Azam Shah and two to Kam Bakhsh.

Azam Shah had been ordered by his father to march northward to Malwa. He had gone leisurely a few stages only when Alamgir died. Asad Khan and Azam's sister, Princess Zinat-un-Nisa, summoned him back to the court. He returned immediately to the camp, performed the funeral ceremonies of his father and despatched the body to Daulatabad to be buried in the courtyard of the tomb of Shaykh Zain-ul-Haq,four miles west of Daulatabad. The place was named Khuldabad.

On reaching the south Azam connived at or deliberately permitted, as a diplomatic move, the escape of Shahu from the imperial camp with the knowledge and advice of Zulfiqar Khan. No attempt was made to pursue Shahu who went away with a fairly large retinue. According to a Marahatha account Shahu was set free and allowed to proceed to the Deccan through the good offices of the daughter of Alamgir.[3]

Azam Shah proclaimed himself emperor and ascended the throne on March 14, 1707. The chief officials submitted to him but Ghazi-ud-Din Firuz Jang and his son, Chin Qulich Khan, evaded taking part in the civil war and preferred to remain in the Deccan and watch the course of struggle. Zulfiqar Khan joined Azam with Rao Dalpat Ra i Bundela and Rao Ram Singh Hadda, but his advice to Azam to leave his family at Daulatabad and proceed to the north was contemptuously rejected by him. The Prince's refusal to give promotion or grants of money to old soldiers caused great discontentment in the army. According to Iradat Khan the Prince was short of money and had not much to give. Kam Bakhsh had in the meantime moved o Bijapur where he took up his quarters.[4]

Prince Azam marched to Aurangabad and then to Burhanpur· Muhammad Amin's desertion has been ascribed to the heterodoxy of Azam. "Azam Shah," according to Mirza Muhammad, " was suspected of being a Shia. For this cause men of Mawar-un-Nahr, nay all the Sunnis, objected to his succession, although he had '*jurat*' and '*adalat*' on which sovereignty is founded."[5] Bidar Bakht, the son of Azam, who was in Ahmadabad, had been ordered to raise troops and march to Agra. This order was countermanded and the Prince was ordered to join his father at Gwalior. Bidar Bakht was later joined near *Ujjain* by Raja Jai Singh of Amber. Prince Azam marched to

Gwalior and there heard the disturbing news that Prince Muazzam and his sons had reached Agra and occupied the fort and taken possession of twenty-four crores in gold and silver, coined and uncoined, from the treasury.

Muhammad Muazzam's eldest son, Jahandar Shah, was the governor of Multan and another son, Azim-ush-Shan, was the governor of Bengal and Bihar. The latter had already moved and reached Agra. To secure the active support of the Rajputs, Shah Alam had conferred the title of Mirza Raja on Jai Singh and that of Maharaja on Ajit Singh with promises of "other favours undreamed of by their forefathers."

Muhammad Muazzam had an able and efficient officer in the person of Munim Khan[6] who was at that time the *diwan* of Kabul and the *naib subadar* of the Punjab. The latter had collected for the emergency a "war chest" and camels, oxen and boats for the army which was to move to Agra. On receiving news of the death of his father, Prince Muazzam moved through Lahore and Delhi reaching Agra on June 12, 1707. Baqi Khan, the commander of the fort, submitted and presented to him the keys of the fort. Before Shah Alam reached Agra he had sent a letter from Mathura to Azam Shah offering him the four provinces of the Deccan, and Gujarat and Agra in addition to them but Azam contemptuously spurned this offer of the '*Banya*' as he used to style his elder brother, observing "that a kingdom was not a thing which could be divided like an inheritance."

Shah Alam now realizing that accommodation with Azam Shah was impossible marched out to meet in battle his intractable brother. Bidar Bakht had in the meantime crossed the Chambal and advanced on Jajau. He dispersed Shah Alam's men who were engaged in pitching their tents which were set on fire. This was prematurely hailed as a great victory. Shah Alam's main army now moved in and defeated and dispersed the enemy. Zulfiqar Khan left the camp in the midst of the battle. "If Nusrat Jang as required by his apparent loyalty had joined actively with the other leaders in the attack and had even for a little while held his own in the battle all the difficulties that fell upon Azam Shah would never have happened"[7]. In spite of defactions Azam continued to fight till he was struck by an arrow (a muskat ball according to Iradat).[8] As he fell to the ground his head was cut off and carried to Shah Alam.

When Azam's head was placed before Shah Alam "the compassionate Alam, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such

disgrace, shed tears of affection" and gave Rustam Dil Khan who had brought in the head nothing but reproaches. Shah Alam proceeded to grant amnesty to all those who had fought or worked against him. Munim Khan who had been wounded in the battle was granted the title of Khan-i-Khanan, Bahadur Jang, *Yar-i-Wafadar*. Asad Khan, Zulfiqar Ali Khan and Hamid-ud-Din were graciously summoned to the court and received with honour. Nawab Qudsiya Zeb-un-Nisa was treated with great kindness and indulgence and given the title Padshah Begum. The four sons of Shah Alam received titles, and their *mansabs* were increased. Shah Alam marched back to Agra. But for Kam Bukhsh who was in the Deccan and still aspiring to the throne, Shah Alam was now the recognised successor of Alamgir. He had crowned himself emperor with the title of Bahadur Shah at the bridge of Shah Daula, twenty, four miles north of Lahore, soon after he had heard of the death of his father. The battle of Jajau set the seal on his claim to the throne.

After the successful conclusion of the campaign against Azam Shah, Bahadur Shah who had returned to Agra held a public darbar at *Bagh Dahr-Ara* where promotions of old officers and new appointments were made. New titles were conferred upon the four princes and they were assigned governorships of provinces which they were to hold through their deputies for the present. But the difficult problem with which Bahadur Shah was immediately faced was to reconcile the rival claims of the leading noblemen to high offices, emoluments and dignities and to maintain a balance, *albeit* a precarious one, between different groups. Without this he could not proceed with an easy mind to dispose of his younger brother, Kam Bukhsh, and settle the disputes with the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Marahathas either by negotiations or by force.

Bahadur Shah wanted to follow a policy of conciliation towards those who had cast in their lot with Azam Shah and forgive and forget their past conduct. Letters were sent summoning to the court Asad Khan, his son Zulfiqar Khan, Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang, Chin Qulich Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan. Asad Khan was graciously received by the Emperor who offered him the positon of *Wakil-i-Mutlaq*, the office of the *Wazir* having already been promised to Munim Khan. Asad Khan petitioned that he should have the same powers and dignities earlier enjoyed by Asaf Khan.[9] Bahadur Shah could not accede to all his demands. He was given the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf-ud-Daulah and persuaded to retire to

Delhi with his son remaining at the court as his deputy and in charge of the Wakil's seal.[10] The Turani group of noblemen consisting of Chin Qulich Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan and Qamar-ud-Din were granted titles and governorships, but they remained in the background during the reign of Bahadur Shah playing a minor role in the politics of the Empire. Bahadur Shah after these preliminary arrangements to secure the co-operation of all important groups set out for Rajputana on 10/12 November, 1707.

Bahadur Shah and the Rajputs

Alamgir's Rajput war had left scars which concealed the innate refractoriness of the Rajputs and their desire to break away from the centre. These were the direct outcome of the economic set up of the Rajput states and the religious revivalist movements amongst the Hindus. Ajit Singh, the infant son of Jaswant Singh, had been smuggled out of Delhi by his father's followers and had been literally on the run.[11] The leading figure in the Rajput-Mughul conflict had been Durga Das and the conflict had become a struggle between the Rajput aristocracy always restless and unstable in its political affiliations and the Mughul nobility. Soon after the death of Alamgir, Ajit Singh came out of his retreat and drove away the Muslim officers from Jodhpur. Bahadur Shah now decided to march against him.[21] Marching through Fathpur Sikri, Todah and Dosa the Emperor reached Amber about the 20th of January, 1708. The army marched on to Ajmir and then to Mairtha. Ajit Singh made his submission, and for the time being peace was restored in this disturbed region. Rana Amar Singh made a show of submission. If Bahadur Shah had stayed on longer in Rajputana he might have succeeded by diplomacy and use of force in placing the Rajput-Mughul relations on a more stable footing. But Kam Bukhsh had yet not accepted Bahadur Shah as the lawful successor to his father. He struck coins and had the *Khutba* read in his own name. Bahadur Shah had perforce to accept an unstable peace and march to the Deccan.

War Against Kam Bakhsh

Kam Bakhsh was on his way from Ahmadnagar to Bijapur to take up his assignment as governor there when he heard of the death of his father near the fort of Parenda. The fort was surrendered to Kam Bakhsh who was formally enthroned and the *Khutba* read in his name.[13]

"Dar Dakan zad sikkah bar Khurshid o mah
Padshah Kam Bakhsh-i-Dinpanah."

Kam Bakhsh succeeded in capturing several forts but, the factiousness of his principal officers and his suspicious nature disrupted his party and the revolting brutal punishments to his erstwhile supporters alienated many a well-wisher. An envoy who had been sent by Bahadur Shah to Kam Bakhsh to attempt a settlement by negotiations was imprisoned, and members of his retinue were captured and executed. The overtures of peace were first put off by vague replies and later flatly rejected.

An armed conflict now appeared inevitable. There were large scale desertions in Kam Bakhsh's camp and a mood of sadness and resignation appears in his subsequent movements. He is reported to have even planned to escape to Persia. Precautions were, however, taken to prevent his escape by sea, and Mr. Pitt, the governor of Madras, was induced to help the Emperor in apprehending the prince should the latter make such an attempt.[14]

Bahadur Shah left for Deccan and reached Haiderabad on 12 January, 1709. His already large army was swelled by deserters from Kam Bakhsh's camp so that "he had neither army nor money left." Kam Bakhsh came out to face Bahadur Shah outside Haiderabad. A battle was joined on 13 January, 1709, but in spite of Kam Bakhsh's personal bravery he was defeated and captured. Sixty-two dead bodies were counted by the historian Khafi Khan round the place where Kam Bakhsh had been captured. Kam Bakhsh and his sons were taken to the royal camp where they were well looked after, but Kam Bakhsh, in spite of the efforts of the royal surgeons, succumbed to his injuries. One of his sons had already died of an arrow wound in the temple. The bodies were taken to Delhi and buried in the mausoleum of the Emperor Humayun. He was forty-three years of age. But for his rash temper which led him to acts of cruelty, he was a man of parts. He had transcribed himself a copy of the Quran which he carried to the battlefield on his elephant.

The Rajput Rising

Raja Jai Singh Kachhawah and Maharaja Ajit Singh had accompanied Bahadur Shah when the latter had proceeded to the Deccan against Kam Bakhsh. They escaped from camp near Mandeshwar and returning home organised joint resistance against the Mughuls and won over Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur. The Rajputs captured Jodhpur in July 1708, and Amber in August. After the rainy season they marched on Ajmer but were repulsed. They returned again and defeated and dispersed the imperialists. Negotiations were soon

opened with the Rajputs, and Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to favour. Abdullah Khan was appointed as Subahdar on his own conditions[15] which reveal the arrogance and presumptuousness of the nobles and the impotence of royal authority. The Sikh rising under Banda (called Fath Shah by Kamwar Khan) forced Bahadur Shah to come to a speedy settlement with the Rajputs and turn round to face the new danger to imperial authority.

Bahadur Shah and the Sikhs [16]

The first armed conflict with the Sikhs came at Sonepat, [17] where the Mughul *faujdar* was routed and fled to Delhi. Banda who had taken up the leadership of the Sikhs after the death of Guru Govind Singh now moved to the hilly region north of Sarhind and plundered Sadhaura[18] and killed a large number of its inhabitants. Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind, who was the most hated man amongst the Sikhs, defeated and dispersed the Sikhs on 22 May, 1710, near Banur.[19] The Sikhs rallied again, attacked the rear of the Mughul army and completely routed it. Wazir Khan, then 80 years of age, was killed in the battle and "not a single Mohammadan escaped with anything but the clothes upon his back." The Sikhs now marched to Sarhind and captured it. For four days the city was ruthlessly plundered. Saja Anand Brahmin, the revenue officer, and his household even were not spared. A Sikh governor was now appointed. Immense booty was acquired. Several men accepted the Sikh faith and assumed Sikh names. The Sikhs spread out and the whole of the sarkar of Sarhind was occupied as also the parganas to the north of Sarhind. Asad Khan, old and imbecile, did nothing to stem the devastating tide of the Sikhs.

The Sikhs now turned to the territory across the Sutlaj. Shams Khan, the *faujdar* of Sultanpur, mustered a large force and went out against the Sikhs. In a pitched battle at Rahun,[20] fifty miles east of Sultanpur, the Sikhs were besieged, forced to seek shelter in the fort of Rahun but they were driven out. On the victorious return of Shams Khan they reoccupied Rahun but they failed to obtain a hold on the Jullunder Doab. The setback here was amply compensated by the capture of the town of Saharanpur and half of its parganas. The town of Jalalabad,[21] thirty miles south of Saharanpur, became the next target but Jalal Khan, a Warakzai Afghan and a former *faujdar*, put a stout resistance and defeated the attempts of the Sikhs to capture the town.

The Sikhs elated and emboldened by their recent successes,

particutly the capture of Sarhind, made preparations to capture Lahore. Its governor, Sayyid Aslam Khan, made no attempt to repel the Sikh attack, he being mainly occupied in preventing any outbreak of hostile population in the city itself.

Batala and Kalanaur were ravaged and the Sikh depredations extended as far as Shalimar garden. Sayyid Aslam sent a force against the Sikhs. There were many skirmishes in which both the parties suffered heavy casualties. Bahadur Shah was at Ajmer when he heard of the Sikh rising in the Punjab. He decided to hurry back inspite of the remonstrances of Munim Khan. Leaving Ajmer the, imperial camp passed near Delhi,[22] reaching Sonepat on October 22, 1710. An advance contingent had been sent under Firoz Khan Mewati who defeated a Sikh force and was appointed *faouar* of Sarhind. Several successful battles were fought till the army reached Sadhaura on 25 November, 1710. The Sikhs had left the place and entrenched themselves in Pawagarh, about eight kos from Sadhaura on the edge of a small hill and difficult of access. The Sikhs had given it the name of Lohgarh. Banda had now started assuming royal state. His seal bore the following inscription.

Tegh-o-Digh-o-fath nusrat bi darang
Yaft as Nanak Guru Govind Singh

His coins bore similar legends. The march of the imperial army was considerably hampered by difficult terrain and unusually heavy winter rains that year. Banda had become a legend which struck terror in the hearts of the rural population. The imperial army first encountered the Sikh army in the surrounding jungle and defeated and dispersed them. The fort of Lohgarh was then stormed, but Banda escaped from the fort and one Gulabu Khatri who had posed as the Guru was captured. "The hawk had flown and the owl was killed."[23] The entire blame for the escape of Banda fell upon the head of Munim Khan who was so overwhelmed with shame that he died soon after. The fort had fallen on 16 December, 1710, and vast booty was captured.

Banda reappeared three months after in Bari Doab. A force sent against him was routed, and the Sikhs plundered and burnt unprotected villages and towns in the Bari and Rachna Doabs, but they were finally driven away and Sikh prisoners sold in the *nakhas* at Lahore. The operations against the Sikhs were slackened by the mutual distrust amongst and general apathy of Mughul officers. Rustam Dil Khan who had been mainly responsible for the operations against the Sikhs was arrested and divested of his office and

titles. He was later on restored to favour and honoured with the title of Ghazanfar Khan. Muhammad Amin Khan scored another victory against the Sikhs, but the death of Bahadur Shah opened the way for a conflict between the rival candidates. The operations against the Sikhs were relaxed and Banda recaptured Sadhaura and repaired the fort of Lohgarh.

The Last Days of Bahadur Shah

While marching back to Lahore Munim Khan who was with the Emperor died on 28 February 1711, after thirteen day's illness at Bhuriyab.[24] The body was sent to Delhi to be buried near the Qutb. His estate was valued at three crores of rupees.

Munim Khan was little over sixty years of age when he died. He had held important posts in the civil and military departments and held the much coveted office of *wazir* for five years under Bahadur Shah. He was "hospitable and of pleasent manners absolutely free from haughtiness and vainglory." He always preferred a peaceful solution of problems, and the policy of appeasement and compromise that he followed offered only a temporary solution of problems and left a rich harvest of trouble for his successors in office. "Munim Khan, sincerely loyal, generous in mind, and full of zeal for the service of his master, never preferred the gratification of his own passions to the welfare of the state, and the honour of the sovereign. He both advised and acted for what was for his glory." Honest and straightforward, he personally with meticulous care attended to the details of administration. He was a poet of sort, skilled in various arts and mystically inclined. He wrote a book titled *Ilhamat-i-Munimi*.[25] The death of Munim Khan was followed by the usual dispute over the appointment of a *wazir* and a compromise appointment was made by appointing SaadullahKhan as the Chief *diwan* leaving the real power in the hands of prince Azim-ush-Shan. Another nobleman of importance who died during his reign was Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Firuz Jang, "a nobleman of such rank and power, and yet so gentle and pleasant spoken, rarely seen or heard of among the men of Turan.[26]

Bahadur Shah now resumed the march to Lahore reaching the place on 11 August, 1711.

The Khutba Riots

Bahadur Shah introduced an innovation by ordering the inclusion of the word "*wasi*" after the name of Hazrat Ali in the *khutba* to be delivered in every mosque in public prayers. This caused considerable resentment amongst Sunni *ulema*, and the recital of the *khutba* had to be discontinued in Lahore for some time. The attempt to enforce his

orders had resulted in riots in Gujarat and Kashmir, and some *Khatibs* had been killed. In Delhi the order was ignored. Asaf-ud-Daula on seeing the order had retorted, "This cannot take effect in Hindustan, it is not Iraq." Bahadur Shah had decided to enforce his order in Lahore with the help of the army but the determined resistance of the *ulema* and the people of Lahore and the threat by Muizz-ud-din to stand by the *ulema* with his men made Bahadur Shah desist from using force. He summoned the *ulema* and held a debate with them but the latter were adamant in resisting the measure. He threatened them with dire consequences and that he would make them eat from the platters along with dogs.[27] In the end he withdrew the order. One of his last measures was to order the extermination of all dogs in the camp and the city.[28] Bahadur Shah died on 27/28 February, 1712, of a sore in his stomach. According to the Dutch ambassador who was in Lahore at that time he was stabbed to death by a jealous husband.[29] So pre-occupied were his sons in preparation for the contest to the throne that the Emperor's body "lay unheeded fully a month." He was buried in Delhi. Bahadur Shah since early age had had considerable experience of military and civil service under his father, a strict disciplinarian and hard task master. He had come under a cloud and had been in prison for several years. The dignity and fortitude with which he bore himself in his years of disgrace chastened and sobered him. By nature of mild and equable temper, generous and forgiving to a fault with considerable control over his temper, he would have made an ideal ruler in better times. Himself a well read man, he patronised men of learning and piety. "It is a fact,' says Iradat Khan, " that the deserving of every profession, and the worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble received an attention from the throne, which prior to him the eye of time had never seen, nor had such been heard of before by the ears of fame."[30]

Bahadur Shah maintained a magnificient court in the best tradition of Shah Jahan. In private life he was plain and humble. He often led the congregation in prayers and recited the Quran in sweet tones. He kept awake at night and slept till after sunrise. He delighted in the company of religious and learned men and was well versed in *fiqh* and *hadis*. He was accused of heterodoxy but Iradat Khan refutes the charge.[31] He was always anxious to please every body and could not say no to any one, a weakness which was in the end responsible for the scramble for power amongst his sons and officers. He was a kin

and affectionate father and a loyal friend. When Hamid-ud-Din requested him for the grant of the title of Rai for his private *diwan*, Kishan Singh, Bahadur Shah is reported to have written across the petition : "Khans in every house and Rais in every bazar. To please Hamid-ud-Din Khan let this blockhead (gaudi) also be a *Rai*."[32] He changed many practices of the court, and his orders were changed or issued without his knowledge so that he was nicknamed "*Shah-i-be-Khabar*," (the ill-informed King) a chronogram giving the date of his accession. The growing suspicion of the Hindus due to their clandestine dealings with the Sikhs and he Marahathas was reflected in the tone of the administration.

Iradat Khan thus sums up his character : "Shah Alam was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability, discerning of merit . . . Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal, if not superior, to their merits . . . Some narrow hearted persons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profusion...His personal qualities and perfection in speech is unequal to relate. His valour was such that he had resolved on meeting Azam Shah, whose bravery was celebrated, in single combat...On the Eids and other festivals, His Majesty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his presence according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours, were truly royal. When in private, he dressed plain and humbly, like a religious person and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would lead the prayers himself, in the grand tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Qoran with a tone and sweetness which captivated the most eloquent Arabians. He never missed the devotions of the later part of the night, and frequently employed the whole night in prayer. In the early part of the evening, he had generally an assembly of the religious or learned men. He himself related traditions, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the holy laws. He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account, some over-strict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the insolence of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the sun; how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points."[33]

Section II : The Successors of Bahadur Shah (1712 – 1716)

Azim-Ush-Shan (1712)

Jahandar Shah, the eldst son of Bahadur Shah, had been appointed the governor of Multan while his second son, Azim-ush-Shan, was assigned the governorship of Bengal in 1697 and of Bihar in 1702-3 where he remained till the death of his father.

The third son, Rafi-ush-Shan, " who had the heart of a courtesan devoting all his energies to the adornement of his person, was his principal adviser and favourite son till he was replaced by Jahan Shah, a man "whose conceit was unbounded." He was haughty, irascible and self-willed, but a man of principle.

Azim-ush-Shan who was well versed in court intrigues pushed Jahan Khan out of favour with his father and began to exercise considerable influence in the government. The relations between the four princes were strained and a civil war was inevitable. Azim-ush-Shan appeared at the time to be the most powerful of the princes and with the connivance of Zulfiqar Khan the other three brothers agreed to form a coalition against him and partition the Empire amongst themselves. Jahandar Shah was to be the Emperor of Hindustan, Rafi-ush-Shan was to be assigned Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Thatta and Bhakkar; the whole of the Deccan from Narbada to the island of Ceylon was to go to Jahan Shah. Zulfiqar Khan was to be the chief *wazir*.

As soon as Bahadur Shah died his principal officers threw in their lot with one prince or the other. There was general confusion and people left the camp to go to some place of safety while all around "bad characters" started looting the camp and the unprotected residences. There was such consternation that "son could not help father nor father son; everyone was wrapped up in thoughts for his own safety."

Azim-ush-Shan was better equipped with men, elephants and cannon and with the exception of Zulfiqar Khan he had the support of the principal nobles. But he was weak and vacillating and this was his undoing. After several days of hard fighting, Azim-ush-Shan's elephant was struck by a bullet. The frightened beast fled towards

the river, fell into it and both the elephant and the Prince were swallowed up by a quicksand. Azim-ush-Shan in an inglorious fight found a watery grave. His camp was plundered. According to one account the corpse was taken out of the river and sent to Aurangabad for burial. According to others the body was never recovered and the Prince was believed to have escaped alive. The confederates fell out with each other and with Zulfiqar Khan. Prince Jahan Shah "virtuous and religious, faithful to his word" was killed in a skirmish on 27 March, 1712. Rafi-ush-Shan was killed on 28 March, 1712, after a gallant fight. The mangled bodies of the two princes were exposed on the battlefield for three days and then buried in Humayun's tomb.[34] Jahandar Shah was the only contestant who survived and was enthroned on 29 March, 1712.

JAHANDAR SHAH

Jahahdar Shah now proceeded to make new appointments and gave suitable rewards to his supporters. Zulfiqar Khan. Nusrat Jang became the chief *wazir* while his father continued as *wazir-i-Mutlaq*. This 'creator' of Emperors became absolute, and gathering all power in his hands he proceeded to liquidate or reduce to poverty by illegal exactions members of the old nobility. Those who had fought against Jahandar Shah or his supporters were punished and their properties confiscated Rustam Dil Khan was executed and his property worth twelve lakhs of rupees was given to Abdus Samad Khan. The troops of the deceased princes were disbanded and thousands of them went to Bihar and Bengal. Prince Kam Bakhsh, the son of Azim-ush-Shan, was soon after found hiding in a weaver's house. He was later executed.

Abdus Samad Khan who came to prominence during the reign of Farrukh Siyar had served in the Deccan during Alamgir's reign. He was a descendant of Khwaja Nasir-ud-Din Abdullah (or Ubaidullah) Ahrar (d. 1490-91) He married into the family of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin and being a soldier soon rose to prominence. He, however, fell foul of Prince Azim-ush-Shan and was ordered by Bahadur Shah to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but before he left for Hajj, Bahadur Shah had died and Abdus Samad Khan was enlisted by Zulfiqar Khan on the accession of Jahandar Shah as commander of the royal vanguard.[35]

Jahandar Shah left Lahore for Delhi where he reached on 22 June, 1712. News was received of Farrukh Siyar, the second son of the late Azim-ush-Shan, having left Bengal for Patna. Prince

Azz-ud-Din was despatched to Agra to watch the progress of events in the east. Jahandar Shah gave himself to dissipation completely infatuated by Lal Kunwar.[36] She had been given the title of Imtiaz Mahal, and all her near relatives were given titles, *mansabs* and special privileges. The annual allowance for household expenses of Lal Kunwar came to two crores of rupees. The conduct of the king and her concubine disgusted the nobles and the people of Delhi. Zulfiqar Khan, had himself lost all initiative and had becoame niggardly and suspicious of the Emperor, because of the latter's patronage of Ali Murad Khan Amir ul Umara who himself was a candidate for *wizarat*.

Farrukh Siyar's March to Patna

Farrukh Siyar, the second son of Azim-ush-Shan, had been left in Bengal after Alamgir had summond his father to the Deccan. His elder brother, Muhammad Karim, had earlier been executed by orders of Zulfiqar Khan. His father had summoned him to the court, and he was near Patna when he heard of Bahadur Shah's death. He had immediately proceeded to have his father proclaimed as Emperor. Coins were struck and the *khutba* was read in his name. Within three weeks he heard of his father's death. Completely shaken by the news he is reported to have thought of suicide, or fall back on Bengal and escape by sea. His mother, however, persuaded him to contest the throne. He was proclaimed Emperor in Afzal Khan's garden to register his claim to kingship. No rasher enterprise, says Irvine, "was ever entered upon." Farrukh Siyar had neither an army nor necessary funds to raise one. He had no supporters, and little ability to organize support for himself. Even those who owed their position to his father deserted him. The only supporters he found, and that on the entreaties of his mother, were the two Sayyid Brothers of Barha, Hasan Ali Khan and Husain Ali Khan, then in charge of Allahabad and Bihar.

The Sayyids of Barha

Twelve Sayyid brothers came to India from Wasit in Iraq under their father, Abdul Fariah, and settled in four villages near Patiala. They later moved eastward across the Jamuna and settled in Muzzaffarnagar district. They distinguished themselves as recklessly brave soldiers and we hear of them in many a skirmish from the time of Akbar onwards. Sayyid Abdullah Khan known as Sayyid Miyan had served with distinction under Ruhullah Khan in the time of Alamgir and then received a *mansab* and joined Prince Muazzam.

His sons, Hasan Ali and Husain Ali, held different posts but fell out of favour with the Emperor. After a short eclipse they threw in their lot with Shah Alam and in the battle of Jajau won honours with their traditional dash and bravery for which the family had become famous. They were not properly rewarded, but they bided their time till Azim-ush-Shan took them under his wings.[37]

When Farrukh Siyar's mother made a desperate bid to secure their support, she was counting on a woman's sensitivity and the Sayyid Brothers' gratitude for the favours they had received from Azim-ush-Shan. But Jahandar Shah contributed considerably to the decision taken by Abdullah Khan by depriving him of the governorship of Allahabad. The Sayyid was not a man to surrender without a fight and succeeded in beating back the officer, Abdul Ghaffar, the deputy of the governor-designate, Raja Muhammad Khan, who had been sent to displace him. The coming in of the Sayyid Brothers secured Farrukh Siyar further supporters. Ahmad Beg, later known as Ghaziudin Khan Ghalib Jang, Sudhisht Narayan, a Zamindar of Bhojpur, Khwaja Azim (Ashraf Khan) Saf Shikan, Khan, deputy governor of Orissa, Mir Mushrif and Zain-ud-Din Khan threw in their lot with Farrukh Siyar. Badly pressed for money, Farrukh Siyar levied heavy exactions, captured the Bengal revenue which was being sent to Delhi, seized Dutch Company's goods and those of Surat Singh Khatri. Thus equipped with men and money Farrukh Siyar marched westward on 16 September, 1712.

Jahandar Shah made one more effort to win back Abdullah Khan but without success. He now ordered his son Azz-ud-Din who was already in Agra to march against Farrukh Siyar. But Azz-ud-Din for personal reasons and the discontented army because of arrears of pay marched in a half-hearted manner. On the way an attempt was made to enlist the support of Mehta Chabela Ram, *faujdar* of Karra Manikpur, but the latter prevaricated and escaped with his nephew Mehta Girdhar Lal to the camp of Farruhh Siyar. The arrival of Chabela Ram with his treasures further relieved the financial distress of Farrukh Siyar who had been borrowing money from the merchants of Bengal and Patna promising to pay 25 per cent on the principal after the campaign. Later Muhammad Khan Bangash also joined Farrukh Siyar.

Azz-ud-Din had fixed his camp at Khajwa, and desultory fighting began. Despairing of victory, Azz-ud-Din decided to leave Khajwa

and march back to Agra. His camp was now plundered by the enemy and several officers of Azz-ud-Din took this opportunity to make peace with Farrukh Siyar.

Jahandar Shah now decided to march to Agra, but he had no money to pay the soldiers or properly equip them. He had recklessly squandered away the treausres, gold vessels, jewels and jewelled articles. Gold plates on the palaces were taken away to pay the soldiers. The imperial army left for Agra reaching the place on 29 December, 1712. Later, he fixed his camp at Samugarh. Farrukh Siyar's army had in the meantime come to the other side of Jamuna and succeeded in crossing it by a little guarded ferry (9 January 1713). Skirmishes followed and at one time Farrukh Siyar's defeat appeared imminent, but there was disunity, discord and jealousy among the officers of Jahandar Shah while some semblance of unity and concerted action was maintained in the opposite camp.

In a hotly contested battle Jahandar Shah's elephant was wounded and bolted from the field. The Emperor got down from the elephant and mounted a horse. He was later joined by Lal Kunwar and both fled from the battlefield to the safety of the walls of Agra where they hid themselves. Zulfiqar Khan failing to find Jahandar Shah decided to go back to Delhi. Jahandar Shah had his beard and moustaches shaved, changed his clothes and along with Lal Kunwar took the road to Delhi in disguise and entered it on 15 January, 1713, and took refuge in the house of Asad Khan. Zulfiqar Khan had reached there a day earlier. When Jahandar Shah came to the house, father and son held consultations. Asad proposed that Jahandar Shah should be held a prisoner and handed over to Farrukh Siyar and by this act secure amnesty for the family. Zulfiqar Khan insisted that he should go to Multan and then to Kabul or to the Deccan and hold out against Farrukh Siyar. In the end he yielded to his father's proposal.

Jahandar Shah was held a prisoner in a tent and later shifted to the fort with Lal Kunwar to keep him company. On 12 January, *khutba* was read in Delhi in the name of Farrukh Siyar. Farrukh Siyar was formally enthroned on 11 January, 1713. Azz-ud-Din and his wife were captured from a grave near Agra. Abdullah Khan was despatched to Delhi on 14 January with Farrukh Siyar following him with the rest of the troops. Sayyid Amir Khan of Thatta was appointed governor of Akbarabad. In the meantime report had

been received from Asad Khan of the capture of Jahandar Shah which was later confirmed by Abdullah Khan. Farrukh Siyar left Agra for Delhi on 22 January, 1713.

Abdullah Khan in Delhi proceeded to restore order and conciliate by profuse promises both Asad Khan and his son. But Farrukh Siyar sent his own men to bring the two to his camp at Khizrabad near Delhi. Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan accepted the invitation, appeared in the camp and were well received. Asad Khan after the interview was allowed to leave the camp and Zulfiqar Khan was asked to stay on. Later on he was strangled to death and then stabbed in the chest (11 February 1713). Jahandar Shah on the same day was strangled in the fort, kicked mercilessly and then his head was cut off and taken in a tray to Farrukh Siyar. Lal Kunwar was sent to Suhagpura where the widows of the deceased Emperors usually livad.

Farrukh Siyar entered Delhi on 12 February,1713. The head of Jahandar Shah fixed on a bamboo along with his body was paraded through the city.[38] According to Iradat Khan, Jahandar Shah "was himself a weak man, effeminately careful of his person, fond of ease, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had also blemishes and vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illustrious ancestors. He made the vast empire of Hindustan an offering to the foolish whims of a courtesan. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress usurped absolute authority in the State; and high offices, great titles and unreasonable grants from the Imperial domains were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two crores of rupees annually were settled for only the household expenses of the mistress, exclusive of her clothes and jewels."[39]

Zulfiiqar's body tied by the feet to the tail of an elephant formed part of the procession. Asad Khan accompanied the procession in a palki. The bodies of Jahandar Shah and Zulfiqar Khan were exposed for two days on the sandy waste before the Delhi Gate.[40] Asad Khan deprived of his office and his wealth died on 15 June, 1716. "Apart from this harsh and fruitless act, Asad Khan was superior in character to the other nobles of his time. He did little oppression, was long suffering, full of dignity and of a handsome appearance. He was of a correct disposition, which means, we are told, the showing of benevolence and sympathy to equals. His rise was rapid and unchecked

or as it is put, 'he threw without intermission double-six from the dice-box of desire'.[41]

The short reign of Jahandar Shah demonstrated the growing conflict between different factions and between the Emperor and a powerful *wazir*.

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CHAPTER II

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2. J. Sarkar, Text, pp. 12-14.
3. Khafi Khan, 581; Irvine II, 162
4. Khafi Khan, 531, 583.
5. Irvine, Later Mughuls, Vol. I, p. 13.
6. Ibid, 125-27; M.U., III. 617-677
7. Bhimsen, Dilkusha 166 a, quoted by Irvine, Vol. I, p. 30
8. Ibid, Irvine, 1. 32-38
9. Ibid. 39-40; Satish, 25-26
10. For further details see, W. Irvine, Later Mughuls, Vol. I. pp. 37-40,
11. For the Mughul Relations with Jodhpur during the time of Alamgir see J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, Chapter 36;
12. According to Bhimsen quoted by Irvine, it was Munim Khan who advised the Emperor to invade Rajputana " in order to find more lands to grant as Jagirs to his nobles," Irvine, Vol. I,p.41, Footnote.
13. Khafi Khan, 570
14. See Grant Duff, History of the Marahattas, Vol. I, p.187
15. Satish, 58-59 ; Irvine I, 30-31
16. For the early history of the Sikhs see introduction ; for the rise of Banda see Chapter III
17. A town-twenty five miles north of Delhi
18. Twyenty six miles east of Ambala
19. Twenty miles northeast of Sārhind
20. Irvine, I. 100. F.N.
21. Irvīne, I. 100
22. No one was allowed to visit Delhi. The Hindu servants of the Khatri caste were ordered to get their beards shaved in order to make it difficult for them to join the Sikhs. Khafi Khan II, 669, 674
23. Maasir-ul-Umara, III, 673, Khafi Khan, II, 672-73.
24. The place is situated between Sutlaj and Beas
25. Maasir-ul-Umara III; 675 Khafi Khan, vol. II, 674-75; Mirat-ul-Istilah fol 152 b,
26. E & D. Vol.vii, p. 427
27. For the Khutba riots see Yahya, quoted by Irvine, Vol. I, pp. 131-133; Khafi Khan, Vol. ii, 603, 661, 681.
28. Seir-ul-Mutakhirin,
29. Dutch Embassy to the Court of Bahadur Shah, J.P.H.S. Vol. X, Part I, p. 21

30. Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan, E & D. Vol.VII, p. 551.
31. Ibid
32. Khafi Khan, 629-30.
33. Iradat Khan, E & D. Vol. VII, p. 552.
34. The mausoleums built of marble, jasper and other rich stones were bestowed on Lal Kunwar's minions.
35. Irvine, I. 198-90
36. Called Lal Kunwar by Muhammad Qasim. She was a dancing girl who captured the fancy of Jahandar Shah and became his concubine. She was the daughter of Khususiyat Khan, a descendent of Tan Sen. See Irvine, Vol. 1, pp. 180-81. F.N. For her evil influence on the Emperor see Irvine 1, 193-196; Scott, 80-82, Memoirs of Iradat Khan; Seir-ul-Mūtakhirin, Raymond, Vol. 1, 36 ff.
37. For the two brothers see M.U. Vol. III, pp. 113-120 (Urdū); M.U, II, pp; 488-491, Irvine 1, 201-21; Seir-ul Mutakhırin, Raymond, Vol;1;Memoirs of Iradat Khan, Scott Vol. II, Khafi Khan,
38. Scott, Vol. II, p. 80.
39. E.& D. Vol. VII, pp. 557-58.
40. For further details see E. &D. Vol, VII, p. 444.
41. Maasir-ul- Umara, II, 317-18; Seir-ul- Mutakhirin Vol.I, pp.99

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CHAPTER III

FARRUKH SIYAR (1713-19), RAFI-UD-DARAJAT AND RAFI-UD-DAULA

On the accession of Farrukh Siyar there was the usual redistribution of offices and conferment of honours and rewards. Abdullah Khan with new titles and enhanced *mansab* was appointed *wazir* while his brother Husain Ali became *Mir Bakhshi.* The leader of the Turani faction, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, became the *second Bakhshi.* While he showed generosity to his former adherents and well-wishers, Farrukh Siyar started to eliminate by strangulation or execution members of the defeated party whose continued existence he considered dangerous for himself. Amongst the earliest victims were Hidayatullah Khan who had received the title of Saadullah Khan, a Hindu *Waqian'gar* of Koil and Sidi Qasim Habshi, lately Kotwal of Delhi. Sabha Chand's tongue was cut off, and Shah Qudratullah was hanged. Three princes—Aziz-ud-Din, the eldest son of Jahandar Shah, Wala Tabar, son of Azam Shah and Humayun Bakht, a younger brother were blinded. Shadman, a *Qalmaq* woman, entitled Rai Man was executed. Earlier during the reign of Jahandar Shah she had received the title of Raza Bahadur Rustam-i-Hind. Sayyid Muhmmad Jafar of Narnaul suffered similar fate.

Farrukh Siyar and the Sayyid Brothers

Farrukh Siyar's accession to the throne was due mainly, if not entirely, to the support he had received from the Sayyid Brothers at the time when the situation for him appeared to be bleak. After his enthronement Abdullah Khan claimed and was given the office of *wazir.* Opposition to the Sayyids started immediately on the arrival of Abdullah Khan in Delhi. Husain Ali Khan with penetrating insight had sensed the intention of Farrukh Siyar to overthrow the Sayyids. Moreover, the distribution of offices and of confiscated wealth provided ample cause for conflict, but Farrukh Siyar had not the courage to break openly with the "Brothers," and he maintained outwardly good relations with them.

The Rajputs

Ajit Singh who had for all practical purposes patched up with Bahadur Shah resumed his hostility to the Mughuls after the latter's

death. Cow killing and the call to prayers *(azan)* was prohibited in his principality, and Ajmer was captured by him.

The Emperor had no other alternative but to send an army against Ajit Singh. Husain Ali Khan was commissioned for this purpose, probably as the Sayyids suspected, to keep him out of the way and separate the two brothers. Husain Ali marched against Ajit Singh. In spite of the bad weather and the difficult terrain, he entered the territory of the Raja who had fled to Jodhpur and later opened negotiations with the imperial commander. Husain Ali Khan accepted his submission and returned to the capital with the Raja's daughter, who was to wed Farrukh Siyar, and his son Abhay Singh who was to stay at the court. Ajit Singh had been offered the governorship of Thatta, but his request for the governorship of Gujarat was turned down as Farrukh Siyar wanted Ajit Singh and Jai Singh to be as far apart from each other as possible. Ajit Singh was persuaded by Husain Ali to accept the appointment as a mark of submission for the present to the Emperor and to ask for the province of Gujarat later. Ajit Singh marched to Thatta, but before he reached it he was appointed governor of Gujarat. He is reported to have given to Husain Ali a *peshkash* of 50 lakhs in cash, 50 horses, 10 elephants and 50 lakhs in jewelry, evidently an inflated figure.[1]

The Rajput campaign had highlighted the growing rift between the Emperor and the Sayyids. As a matter of fact Farrukh Siyar had from the beginning been working to undermine the power of the Sayyids and to prevent them from dominating the government. His campaign against the Rohilas while in Bihar was in direct opposition to the wishes of Husain Ali. The appointment of Abdullah Khan as *wazir* had been made under pressure. Abdullah Khan later objected to certain appointments made by Farrukh Siyar without his advice and over his head A compromise was arrived at, but the favourites of Farrukh Siyar, anxious to secure greater power and maintain their ascendancy over the Emperor, continued to poison his mind against the Sayyids. Farrukh Siyar, weak, vacillating and unstable lent a ready ear to such reports. Husain Ali was not far wrong when he said of Farrukh Siyar that he was "a man who paid no regard to claims of gratitude, and was devoid of faith, breaker of his word and altogether without shame."[2] In the beginning Mir Jumla and Khan-i-Dauran, the two "carpet Knights" played a sinister role in widening the rift between the two. Ubid-ullah, later know by his title of Mir Jumla, was a native of Samarkand. He came to India

during the time of Alamgir and was after some time appointed first as *Qazi* of Dacca and later of Patna. He gained considerable influence over Azim-ush-Shan, and later became a close friend of Farrukh Siyar. He was responsible for securing the neutrality of Chin Qilich Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan in the battle of Agra. He was rewarded by the grant of a *mansab*, of 6000 *zat*, and appointed *Darogha-i-Ghusalkhana* and *Daroghah-i-Khwasan*.[3] Though a man of learning and a friend of the learned, he had no experience of administrative and military affairs. He was, however, intensely jealous of the Sayyid Brothers, and did all he could covertly to undermine their position at the court.

Khwaja Asim's grandfather, Khwaja Abul Muhsin, had come from Badakhshan and settled in the Punjab. His father joined the service of Azim-ush-Shan. Khwaja Asim joined Prince Farrukh Siyar and became his boon companion. After the battle of Agra he got the title of *Khan-i-Dauran* and the rank of 6000/6000.[4] He is described as being of a commanding presence, soft spoken, with no learning and little knowledge of Persian but essentially a man of peace. He was, however, an accomplished intriguer and a great boaster. He always stood by Farrukh Siyar's party in state matters espousing the cause of the Jats and the Rajputs. His official title was *Samsam-ud-Daula Khan-i-Dauran Bahadur Mansur Jang*. Both of these officers were in the Emperor's confidence who hoped to establish his personal rule through them. The Sayyids on the other hand were determined to exercise power and enjoy the prestige connected with the two key posts that they held—that of the *wazir* and the *mir bakhshi*.

The Sayyids had resented the growing sinister influence of these two officers but they patiently bided their time. When Farrukh Siyar authorised Mir Jumla to sign all papers on his behalf and receive recommendations for the grant of *mansabs* and promotions from officers and dispose them of, the Sayyids with good reason resented strongly this practice. This was a reversal of the established procedure and direct diminution of the prestige and powers of the *wazir*. Besides, in case of new appointments and promotions a fee used to be levied which constituted the perquisites of the officers of the department of *wizarat*. Thus the new arrangement did not constitute only loss of power and prestige but also reduction of the total emoluments of the office held by Abdullah Khan.

Abdullah Khan was partly responsible for this encroachment

on his authority. Fond of pleasure, he had no taste for civil affairs.[5] The ministerial duties were left to Ratan Chand, a *bania* by caste and a resident of Jansath, the family town of the Sayyids. He had been associated with the family for a long time, and after 1712 he was given the title of Raja. Haughty and overbearing, he "had a mind as insatiable as the nethermost hell for swallowing gold and silver."[6] Though avaricious he was a capable financier and as such was in complete confidence of the Sayyids.[7] The conflict between Mir Jumla and Abdullah Khan adversely affected the efficiency of the administration. Ratan Chand had introduced the practice of *Ijarah* (revenue farming) and Farrukh Siyar forbade it on 25 July, 1715. There was thus ample justification for the resentment of the Emperor against the Sayyids.[8] The Emperor, in order to create a counterbalancing force against the Sayyids, augmented considerably the military power and sources of income of Khan-i-Dauran and Mir Jumla. To counteract these measures and to secure themselves against any attempt to oust them from office, Abdullah Khan had hastily summoned his brother Husain Khan from the Marwar campaign. This was one of the reasons for the hasty and inconclusive end of the campaign and the favourable terms offered to the rebellious Rajput prince.

On the accession of Farrukh Siyar the two brothers had obtained the governorship of Multan and Allahabad. Husain Ali now asked for appointment as *subadar* of the Deccan in addition to his other offices and the permission to govern the Deccan through his deputy, Daud Khan Panni. Appointment of absentee governors was not an unusual practice. Farrukh Siyar acceded to his demand for the governorship of the Deccan but ordered Husain Ali to proceed there personally. Husain Ali Khan refused to accept the governorship on these terms as he considered this a clever move to separate the two brothers. A plot was made to secure their persons and dispose them off, as Zulfiqar Khan had been liquidated earlier. The Sayyids being forewarned of it, gave up attending the *Darbar* and proceeded to buy arms, recruit soldiers and fortify their residences. Farrukh Siyar now tried to win over Muhammad Amin Khan but had not the courage to accept the latter's terms which appeared to him to be "a remedy worse than the disease."

Farrukh Siyar realizing his inability to get rid of the Sayyids tried now to placate them. His mother again played the peace-maker and succeeded in securing a compromise. The essential condition on which the Sayyids were prepared to resume their duties was that,

Khan-i-Dauran and Mir Jumla should be ordered to leave the court and go to their governorships. To this Farrukh Siyar agreed. Mir Jumla was to proceed to Bengal. Husain Ali Khan left for the Deccan armed with extraordinary powers to appoint and dismiss all *jagirdars* in the Deccan and transfer the commandants of the forts. The Sayyids thus had their way but the settlement was not entirely to their advantage. Farrukh Siyar succeeded in separating the two brothers, and relieving them of the position of *bakhshigiri* which was given to Khan-i-Dauran. The latter by personal negotiations with the Sayyids, had secured their approval to this arrangement. Mir Jumla left the court but did not go beyond Patna.

Farrukh Siyar, always scheming and treacherous, ordered the transfer of Daud Khan Panni from Gujarat to Burhanpur at the suggestion of Husain Ali Khan, but as soon as he reached Burhanpur, he received secret instructions to resist Husain Ali Khan. In a battle that ensued on September 6, Daud Khan was defeated and killed. Letters of instructions to him from the Emperor fell into the hands of Husain Ali Khan proving, if a proof was needed, the perfidy of the Emperor. The appointment of Husain Ali Khan to the Deccan was naturally resented by Nizam-ul-Mulk, and a new group hostile to the Sayyids was formed consisting of Muhammad Amin, Nizam-ul-Mulk and Abdus Samad.

This struggle for power, in fact for survival amongst the nobles, and the ambition for power not justified by ability or political acumen of Farrukh Siyar brought about realignment of political factions. This weakened the central authority of the state, diverted its energies and resources to safeguard and promote personal interests, emboldened the recalcitrant elements—the Jats, the Sikhs and the Marahathas—and permanently damaged the solidarity and cohesion of the Empire. This senseless pursuit of power and pelf brought nothing but ruin to the adventurers and untold misery to the subjects of the Empire. Luckily for the Mughuls there was no united effort on the part of the new emerging ruling classes. The Jats, the Sikhs and the Marahathas representing the prevalent discontent of the masses and their exploitation by the ruling classes could only destroy but could not build up a stable political system. By weakening the foundations of the Empire, the only integrating and stabilizing force in the country, they opened wide the gates of devastating foreign invasions which destroyed both the exploiters and their victims.

Farrukh Siyar began to cajole and win over the Turani group

and the Rajputs while the Sayyids sought allies from amongst the Jats and the Marahathas and placated the Rajputs and the old nobility. Abdullah Khan tightened his hold on the sources of revenue through the wily but competent and skillful financier Ratan Chand, thus financially impoverishing the central authority. The *jagirdars* and low paid *mansabdars* were hard hit by the new arrangements. The army was always in arrears, and the number and quality of the *sawars* maintained by the *mansabdars* rapidly deteriorated. Bankers and revenue agents flourished while the old nobility became depressed and discontented. According to Khafi Khan, "the nobility of every province carried their existence in disgrace and distrust."[9] Khushhal Chand commenting on the work of Ratan Chand wrote; "Ratan Chand replaced the principle of kingship by the principle of shopkeeping *i.e.* he put everything to sale."[10]

Mir Jumla on reaching Bihar so woefully mismanaged the administration of revenue that he could not even pay his soldiers. The 7000 Mughul troops were disbanded and replaced by Hindustani soldiers. His weakness encouraged the turbulence of the zamindars of Bihar. The disbanded Mughul soldiers oppressed the people. He was, therefore, relieved of his governorship of Bihar and Bengal. In January, 1716, he returned to Delhi to seek help from Farrukh Siyar, but the disturbances which followed his return and the violent and rowdy conduct of the Mughul soldiers clamouring for payment of arrears forced Farrukh Siyar to deprive Mir Jumla of his titles, *mansab* and *jagirs* In his misery he appealed to Abdullah Khan for help and the latter secured for him the *qaziship* of Lahore. For Abdullah Khan the recall of Mir Jumla was a blessing in disguise.

The Jat War

Raja Ram, the Jat leader who had highlighted the latent agrarian and class conflict in the Empire, had died on 4 July, 1688. The fight was carried on till 1695 when it was resumed by Raja Ram's younger brother Churaman who succeeded him. The latter had considerable organizing capacity and energy, "combining in his character the stubbornness of a Jat with the cunning and political sagacity of a Marahatha."[11] He had recovered Sinsani from the Mughuls in 1704 and lost it the following year. During the civil war following the death of Alamgir he had rendered some sort of help to Bahadur Shah and besides the booty he had collected by plundering the princes' camp, he obtained a *mansab*. In 1712, he retired to his estate. When war broke out between Jahandar Shah

and Farrukh Siyar the former sought his assistance which the latter rendered by impartially plundering the camps of the princes. On the accession of Farrukh Siyar Chabela Ram had been asked to lead a punitive expedition against the Jats. Chabela Ram failed to bring the rebels to book, and his successor, Dauran Khan, by a policy of conciliation succeeded in winning the Jat leader over to the Mughuls. Churaman appeared in Delhi at the head of 4000 men, was granted an audience by the Emperor and given the charge of guarding the royal highway from Delhi to the crossing of the Chambol. "A wolf was left to watch over the flock: thereby loot was only legalised and made more methodical."[12] This opportunity was utilized by Churaman to levy heavy tolls and spread terror amongst the neighbouring villages. In November, 1716, Raja Jai Singh Sawai, who had old family scores to settle with the Jats and was afraid of the rise of a new power on the borders of his estate, offered his services to lead an expedition against Churaman. The weary campaign dragged on till 1718. Initial successes were gained by Jai Singh, and if he had received moral and material support from the court, the Jats would have been liquidated. But court intrigues helped Churaman, and he was able to apply for and obtain pardon through the intercession of Abdullah Khan, Churaman promising to pay a tribute of 30 lakhs to the imperial treasury and 20 lakhs to the *wazir* himself. By a clever move Abdullah Khan had succeeded in humiliating Raja Jai Singh and securing for himself an active partisan.

In 1717 Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri[13] returned to the court. Farrukh Siyar wanted to appoint him as a *Diwan-i-Tan wa Khalisah* and governor of Kashmir which he was to govern through a deputy. Inayatullah, an experienced officer, was prepared to accept the post if Abdullah Khan accepted him and the latter attended his office at least once or twice a week.

The arrangement did not work well. Inayatullah proposed the imposition of *jiziya* and close scrutiny into the *mansabs*, grants, the yields from *jagirs* and the validity of the titles to hold the jagirs. These measures were intended to meet the deteriorating financial position and in practice affected mostly the middle classes. Abdullah Khan refused to implement these measures and there was general resentment amongst the Hindus. Farrukh Siyar had, however, expressed his inability and helplessness to intervene as according to him the levying of *jiziya* was a matter of faith.[14] The Sayyids thus became champions of the Hindus and middle class Indian Muslims.[15]

The Mughuls and the Marahathas

Alamgir during his lifetime had opened negotiations with the Marahathas to end the war against them. He is reported to have offered to grant them *sardeshmukhi* amounting to nine per cent of the revenues of the Deccan provinces on their ceding their forts and accepting Shahu as their chief. Tara Bai had offered better terms in support of the claims of her son, Sivaji II. But Alamgir could not make up his mind, and the negotiations failed. After the death of Alamgir, Prince Azam Shah, allowed Shahu to escape from the royal camp, probably at the instigation of Zulfiqar Khan. During the time of Bahadur Shah, Zulfiqar Khan sponsored the claims of Shahu while Munim Khan supported the son of Tara Bai. Bahadur Shah, trying to humour both the noblemen while rejecting the claim of *chauth*, agreed to grant *sardeshmukhi* leaving the rival claimants to fight out their claims. This weak and vacillating policy led to further disturbances in the Daccan, till Daud Khan entered into a private pact with Shahu and thus perpetuated the civil war in the family of Sivaji. In the time of Jahandar Shah the title of Anup Singh was conferred on Sivaji II, the son of Raja Ram. Thus both Shahu and Sivaji II were patronized, and an internal check was provided on the Marahathas by a policy of "divide and rule," a dangerous compromise which did more harm than good in normalizing Mughul-Marahatha relations.

When Nizam-ul-Muik assumed the governorship of the Deccan he refused to accept Daud Khan's agreement for the payment of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan to Shahu.[16] Husain Ali who succeeded Nizam-ul-Mulk continued the same tortuous policy, but Farrukh Siyar following a timorous policy was afraid that this "would plunge him in a sea of trouble with the Marahathas." He secretly encouraged Shahu to oppose Husain Ali. The latter retaliated by reaching an agreement with Shahu in February, 1718, conceding all the Marahatha claims. This was perhaps done with a view to secure the support of the strongest Marahatha group, to keep alive the tension between Satara and Poona groups and to assert his own power against the rival factions within the Empire.

This pact, however, weakened the power and prestige of the Empire, created financial difficulties, and left the Deccan practically at the mercy of the Marahathas who were virtually recognized as co-partners in administration. The result says Khafi Khan, was that "the people now were subjected to two sets of tax-collectors who exacted

twice or thrice more than had been done by the most oppressive former district officers." When Farrukh Siyar appointed Muhammad Amin Khan to Malwa in November, 1717, he had written to Jai Singh: "This year the Marahathas are pouring into Malwa like ants and locusts. They have reduced to dust the towns and villages by plunder and devastation. In royal dues much loss has been incurred, and the entrire province is under siege."[17] This was a realistic appraisal of the situation but Farrukh Siyar had contributed by his weak-kneed and tortuous policy to create troubles for the Empire. The appointment of Muhammad Murad Kashmiri[18] "a sychophant and a braggart" as *wazir* offended many senior grandees. He alienated Sarbaland Khan, Nizam-ul-Mulk and Ajit Singh by his lack of political insight and sheer stupidity by replacing them with his own favourites.

Farrukh Siyar and the English

The English had obtained a *firman* during the time of Shah Jahan granting them the right of duty-free trade in Bengal. When Shaista Khan was appointed governor he ignored this concession and insisted on the payment of the usual duties by the English. The latter succeeded in commuting this into an annual present of 2000 rupees. Murshid Quli Khan later again insisted on the payment of the usual duties, and the English decided to send an Embassy to Delhi headed by Mr. John Surman and his colleague, Edward Stephenson. Khoja Sarhand, an Armenian, was sent as an interpreter and William Hamilton as surgeon with the mission. The Embassy arrived in Delhi on 8 July, 1715, with presents consisting of "curious glass ware, clockwork, brocades and the finest manufactures of woolen clothes and silks."[19] The Embassy first contacted Khan-i-Dauran but realizing that real power lay with Abdullah Khan they began to court his favour. There was the usual delay in securing concessions, but the favourable atmosphere having been created by Hamilton who had succeeded in curing Farrukh Siyar of a painful disease, the alarm resulting from the moving of the English to Bombay from Surat and the possibility of the English making war on the Mughul ships, helped the English in securing a *firman* granting them the concessions which they had asked for.[20]

The Fall of Farrukh Siyar

Farrukh Siyar undeterred by previous experience proceeded again to muster support for the elimination of the Sayyids. The latter were not unaware of the new moves on the political chessboard. They

won over considerable support from the disaffected and disgruntled officers, and raised personal troops.[21]

A show-down was now inevitable. While the court circles were honeycombed by mutual jealousies and tension and above all distrust of Farrukh Siyar, the Sayyids had handled the situation deftly by coaxing support from some grandees and neutralizing the opposision of others.

Husain Ali was apprised of the situation by his brother Abdullah Khan who summoned him to Delhi. Arriving there he sought an audience with the Emperor and laid down his own terms on which he and his party would co-operate with the Emperor. The latter yielded on several points but driven to desperation, he openly abused Abdullah Khan and the compromise broke down. Abdullah Khan took possession of the fort. A demonstration in favour of Farrukh Siyar in the city of Delhi was crushed. Husain Ali and his partisans decided in the end to depose Farrukh Siyar. The latter, who had retired into the *haram* refused to come out and negotiate with the Sayyids. He was forcibly taken out, blinded and thrown into jail. He was put to death on 29 April, 1719, and Rafi-ud-Darajat, son of Rafi-ush-Shan, was placed on the throne.

Character of Farrukh Siyar

"Farrukh Siyar," writes Khafi Khan, "had no will of his own. He was young, inexperienced in business, and inattentive to affairs of State. He had grown up in Bengal, far away from his grandfather and father. He was entirely dependent on the opinions of others, for he had no resolution or discretion. By the help of fortune he had seized the crown. The timidity of his character contrasted with the vigour of the race of Timur, and he was not cautious in listening to the words of artful men. From the beginning of his reign he himself brought his troubles on himself. One great fault he committed at the outset of his reign, in appointing Sayyid Abdullah, a Sayyid of Barha, to the office of *wazir*, which is such a high and important trust that former kings always bestowed it upon wise, great and highminded men, remarkable for patience, experience, clemency, and affability, whose qualities had been tested by long experience. The various appointments sowed the seed of enmity in the hearts of both parties, and the watering it received from malicious callous people brought it to maturity."[22]

Farrukh Siyar, was raised to the throne mainly by the efforts

of the Sayyid brothers who had expected to be at the head of the administration. The Emperor very unwisely from the outset began to chafe under the control exercised by the Sayyids and his tortuous policy rather than win him friends lost them, as his supporters considered him absolutely undependable whose word could not be trusted. But there were streaks of kindness in his character, as was testified by the genuine grief and distress of the people of Delhi, when his body was taken out for burial. Mendicants and professional beggars who had received alms from him rejected food and money distributed amongst the poor by the government, and they themselves distributed food cooked on the platform where the body had been washed. "Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire or regret him." This observation of Irvine appears to be rather harsh. Fear, physical illness, the desire to maintain the prestige of monarchy made him reckless and crafty. The task was too difficult and too big for him. But he was generous and amicable particularly to the poor. He was fond of fine clothes, horses, wrestling and polo playing. He reigned for 7 lunar years, 1 month and 10 days counting from the date of his coronation at Patna.

Rafi-ud-Darajrat And Rafi-ud-Daulah

Abul Barkat Sultan Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Rafi-ud-Darajat was a consumptive of twenty years of age. Profiting from the experience of Farrukh Siyar the Sayyids maintained a close watch over the new Emperor who was completely isolated from the court circle. There was the usual redistribution of offices, and the key posts were now given to and held by the adherents of the Sayyids. The only serious rival was Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Sayyids had been advised by their friends to liquidate Nizam-ul-Mulk, but Abdullah Khan preferred to neutralize his opposition by detaching him from his friends and sending him away from Delhi. He was posted to Malwa where he proceeded on 15 March, 1719. To win over the Hindus, *Jiziya* was abolished. The Marahatha mercenaries were now permitted to go back to the Deccan, and the Sayyids conceded the Marahatha demands: *chauth* or 25 per cent of the revenues of the Deccan, *sardeshmukhi* or 10 per cent of the remaining 75 per cent and confirmation of the *swarajiya* territory on Sivaji's grandson. The quarrel over the distribution of spoils and assignment of confiscated properties led to an open rupture between the two brothers, but Ratan Chand "the key of Abdullah Khan's wits" succeeded in bringing about reconciliation

between the brothers. Rafi-ud-Darajat's health had never been good, and he voluntarily offered to abdicate in favour of his elder brother Rafi-ud-Daulah. He was deposed on 4 June, 1719. His brother was proclaimed Emperor with the title of Rafi-ud-Daulah Shah Jahan II on 6 June, 1719. He died on 11 June, 1719. The only important event of his reign of four months and sixteen days was the suppression of an abortive and ill-organized attempt to set up Niku Siyar, the eldest surviving son of Prince Muhammad Akbar who had languished for quite a long time as a state prisoner in Agra. Niku Siyar was captured and sent a prisoner to Delhi where he died on 11 March, 1723. The Sayyids now selected Muhammad Shah, the son of Jahan Shah, the youngest son of Bahadur Shah, as the puppet ruler of the Empire.

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CHAPTER IV

MUHAMMAD SHAH : 1719—1748

Muhammad Shah at the time of his accession was in his seventeenth year. When he ascended the throne he took the title of Abul Fath Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah. At that time Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were held by Jafar Khan and the six provinces of Deccan by Husain Ali Khan who governed them through his deputy Alim Khan. Ajit Singh held the provinces of Gujarat and Ajmer besides his own state of Jodhpur. Malwa was assigned to Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Allahabad was held by Chabella Ram, an old adherent of Farrukh Siyar. He was assigned Awadh which assignment he declined to accept, but his sudden death forced his nephew, Girdhar Bahadur, to accept the Governorship of Awadh. Punjab, Multan and Sindh were held by Abdus Samad Khan.

Nizam-ul-Mulk began to consolidate his position in Malwa ostensibly to check the Marahathas who were moving in the province with 50,000 horses but in reality to prepare himself for a show-down with the Sayyid brothers and to establish himself in the Deccan. He offended the Sayyids at the outset by taking into his service Marhamat Khan, a soldier of repute, whom Husain Ali Khan had deprived of the post of *qiladar* of Mandu. Nizam-ul-Mulk had also been trying to win over Jai Singh Sawai to his cause.

Husain Ali Khan realizing the danger from Nizam-ul-Mulk decided to oust him from Malwa. Nizam-ul-Mulk was given the choice of selecting any other province, but he appeared to have no intention of relinquishing his present assignment. To strengthen his position, he had been lately enlisting a large number of troops and in May 1720, invaded Khandesh. Asirgarh and Burhanpur were captured. A force under Dilawar Khan sent by Husain Ali Khan against Nizam-ul-Mulk was defeated at Khandwa. Futile negotiations were opened by the Sayyids, and armed conflict between the rivals appeared inevitable. The Sayyid forces led by Alim Khan, the nephew of Husain Ali, were defeated between the towns of Balapur and Shivagaon on 10 August, 1720. Alim Khan's death in the battle and subsequent submission of the Governor of Haiderabad

led to the establishment of the viceroyalty of Nizam-ul-Mulk in the Deccan,

Failing to oust the Sayyids from power, a plot was hatched to use the time honoured method of assassination. Husain Ali marched to the south with the Emperor. When the royal camp reached Toda Bhim, Mir Haider Beg who had been chosen by Muhammad Amin Khan, and Mir Muhammad Amin (Saadat Khan) to assassinate Husain Ali, succeeded in reaching the palanquin in which Husain Ali was being carried to his tents after an audience with the Emperor. Haider Beg, while talking to Husain Ali, plunged a dagger into his body and cut off his head (9 October, 1970). He himself was slain by a cousin of Husain Ali. The head of the murdered man was taken to the Emperor who shrank from the sight of it but was forced to come out of the *zenana* to the scene of murder. The fall of the Sayyids was not unexpected in that age. They were personally responsible for their downfall.

In spite of the apparent success of the Sayyid Brothers in having their own nominees on the throne and putting their own men in key positions in the administration, their power and prestige had so long held together because of close collaboration between the two brothers. They began to quarrel amongst themselves. Abdullah Khan's deputy, Ratan Chand was universally disliked not because he was a Hindu, but because of his vanity and arrogance and particularly because of his interference in matters of appointments to religious posts.[23] "About this time Meer Jumlah was appointed *suddur-ul-sddoor*; but the powers of this office, as of every other, were controlled by Ruttun Chand ; in so much that he even constituted the judges of the Muhammedan law in the provinces. It is said, that one day, taking some persons to be introduced as cauzees to Koottub-al-Moolk, the vizier, laughing, observed, that he appointed Mussulmaun divines, though a Hindu ; upon which one of his companions wittily remarked that the raja, having happily settled his temporal concerns, had turned his attenion to spiritual affairs." The Marahathas had been bought off at a very high price, and concessions had been made to the Rajputs which rather than strengthen the bonds of loyalty to the throne, provided new impetus to regional and tribal autonomy. The Turani faction at the court was still unreconciled aad constituted a potential

danger to the continued monopolization of power by the Sayyid faction. Ratan Chand was captured and imprisoned, but he succeeded in communicating the news of the death of Husain Ali to his brother, Abdullah Khan. The Emperor held a formal audience, Muhammad Amin Khan was appointed minister, and he along with other conspirators received new *mansabs*.

Abdullah Khan and his party played the old game of raising to the throne Prince Ibrahim, a brother of Rafi-ud-Darajat, struck coins in his name and proceeded to fight against the imperialists who had now marched to the north. The two armies met on 15 November at Hasanpur. The Sayyid was defeated, captured and taken to Muhammad Shah. He was kept in prison for some time but was later poisoned on 12 October, 1722. Ratan Chand had been beheaded earlier.

The Emperor entered Delhi on 23 November in triumph. *Jiziya* which had been reimposed on his accession was again abandoned. Muhmmaad Amin Khan died suddenly soon after of colic, his death being popularly attributed to the spell which one Mir Muhammad Husain, popularly known as Namud, had cast on him. He had been harsh in the past but was kind in his behaviour after he became *wazir*. He protected the dependents of the Sayyids and supported many people, great and small. Inayatullah Khan was appointed *wazir* temporarily till the arrival of Nizam-ul-Mulk from the Deccan.

Ajit Singh refused to recognise the new government and assumed the state of independence. He was relieved of the governorship of Gujarat and Ajmer, but while he was easily replaced in Gujarat, because of the discontent of the local population he could not be ousted from Ajmer. No nobleman would take up the task of leading an army into Rajputana as the discipline of the army was at the lowest because the soldiers were always in arrears. When Nizam-ul-Mulk moved to the north, the Rajput Raja was frightened, and made his submission on condition that he should be permitted to retain Ajmer which request was granted. "On entering Ajmer he built mosques which had been destroyed by his orders, allowed the butchers to kill cattle for food, and withdrew his former prohibition of the Muslim call to prayer."

Nizam-ul-Mulk reached Delhi on 29 January, 1722. He was

formally appointed *wazir* on 21 February. Haider Kuli Khan, his chief opponent, was posted to Gujarat which he thoroughly mis-administered. He had to be replaced, and Nizam-ul-Mulk was assigned the province in addition to the viceroyalty of the Deccan and the *wizarat*.

Saadat Khan, who had been appointed governor of Agra and given the title of Burhan-ul-Mulk, was appointed Governor of Awadh in addition to that of Agra. When he went to Awadh, the governorship of Agra was given to Raja Jai Singh, mainly because of the machinations of Khan-i-Dauran. Jai Singh's main assignment was the punishment of Churaman Jat who had laid the country waste round Agra. The Raja taking advantage of a family quarrel won over Badan Singh, the nephew of Churaman. The latter poisoned himself, and Badan Singh was recognised as the Raja of Dig. Ajit Singh's governorship of Ajmer was repugnant to the Muslims. Haider Quli Khan who had recently left Gujarat was appointed governor in his place.

Nizam-ul-Mulk's tenure of *wizarat* did not prove a success. Austere, cold, reserved and even arrogant, a stickler in discipline and determined to restore the prestige of the Empire, he made many enemies at the court. He was thwarted in the introduction of reforms to make the administration clean and effective by short sighted, corrupt, sordid minded officers, who surrounded Muhammad Shah.[5] He had advised the Emperor against farming out Khalsa lands to prevent the practice of receiving bribes on the conferment of offices, to reimpose the *jiziya* which, besides yielding several crores in revenue, was a symbol of the dominance of Muslims and to help Shah Tahmasp of Iran against the Afghans, because a stable government in Iran was essential for the safety of the frontiers. All this advice fell on deaf ears. In disgust, he left for the south on 18 December, reaching Aurangabad late in June 1724. Mubariz Khan, his deputy in the south, had been directed on promise of appointment as Governor of Deccan, to prevent Nizam-ul-Mulk from recovering the Deccan. In October 1724, Nizam-ul Mulk defeated and killed Mubariz Khan at Shakarkhera (later rechristened Fathkhera). "The battle of Fathkhera marks the establishament in the Deccan of Nizam-ul-Mulk's hereditary rule."

The Emperor and the court party now decided to take away

Gujarat from Nizam-ul-Mulk. The latter's uncle, Hamid Khan, was forced to leave Gujarat. Sarbland Khan who had been nominated to Gujarat succeeded in expelling the Marahathas from there, but lack of support from the centre and the intrigues of his enemies so weakened his army, that the Marahathas returned and succeeded in having their claim to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in Gujarat recognised by the Mughuls. Sarbland Khan was punished for these humiliating peace terms by being deprived of the government of Gujarat. He at first stoutly resisted the ouster but ultimately gave up the fight and left for Delhi. He was arrested on the way and kept as a state prisoner, but was later on pardoned and appointed governor of Allahabad. He was so broken in body and spirit that he sent his son as deputy to Allahabad.

The Bundhelas and the Marahathas

The Bundhelas had formed a confederacy and kept the Mughul officers at bay. They were suspected of being in league with the Marahathas. Muhammad Khan Bangash, who had been appointed governor of Allahabad, carried on punitive operations against them from 1727 to 1729, but ultimately had to give up the operations when the Marahathas appeared in large numbers, besieged him in the fort of Jaitpur and forced him to promise never to return to Bundhelkhand. He was later dismissed from governorship.

Nizam-ul-Mulk after his establishment in Deccan was mainly occupied in keeping the Marahathas away from his province. Failing to secure peace by diplomacy, he diverted the Marahatha depredations to Malwa. The Marahathas in December 1728 defeated and killed the governor, Girdhar Bahadur, and the province of Malwa was left at their mercy. Muhammad Khan was now appointed to Malwa but was soon replaced (October 1732) by Jai Singh of Amber. The Marahathas had continued ravages and occupied Hinduan which they soon after left. The Marahathas generally avoided a pitched battle, harrassed the imperial troops, sacked the towns and freely plundered the countryside. So low had the Mughuls fallen in power and prestige and loss of the will to fight that once again peace with the Marahathas had to be purchased by recognising Baji Rao as the governor of Malwa. In Gujarat, Marahatha help had to be sought to make Abhay Singh who had been dismissed from the

governorship of that province, obey the royal order and let the new governor take over. In the district of Kora, Bhagwant Rai, an ordinary land-holder, had the temerity to murder the brother-in-law of Qamar-ud-Din Khan, plunder his property and carry away his wife. It was by the efforts of Burhan-ul-Mulk, the then governor of Awadh, that Bhagwant Rai was killed and order restored in the province. The Marahathas were becoming bold and rash. Several expeditions were sent against them, but the jealousies and mutual suspicion of the commanders made military operations slow and ineffective. Even Nizam-ul-Mulk who had been invited to come from the south to help the imperialists "was forced to sign a convention undertaking to obtain for Baji Rao the whole of Malwa with sovereignty over the territory between the Narbada and the Chambal and the subsidy of five million rupees," terms characterised by Wolsely Haig as "disgraceful." In 1729 epidemic of fever raged in Delhi and spread throughout the Empire from Kabul to Bengal. The author of Mirat-i-Waridat thus lamented the state of affairs in the Empire :

"It is most surprising that Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, the richest and best equipped Rajah in India who has been for full 12 years Governor of Agra and for 5 or 6 years Subedar of Malwa, so that from the gate of Delhi to the edge of Narbada all the land obeyed his order, sits comfortably in his own home, while these calamities and oppressions (from the Marahathas) have been passing for so many years over the land appertaining to him."[6]

Invasion of Nadir Shah

Factions at the court had made all effective operations against the Jats, the Bundhelas, and the Marahathas ineffective. The venality of the government officers and the selfish desire of the provincial governors to secure for themselves independent principalities exposed the Mughuls to foreign invasions from which Mughul Empire had so far been immune. The first of a series of such invasions was that of Nadir Shah, which for all practical purposes made any resistance to foreign encroachment or restore the power of the Emperor within the country, impossible.

Nadir Shah[7] had well consolidated his position after his appointment as Commander-in-Chief by the Safawi ruler Tahmasp in 1726.

During the following ten years he had succeeded in repeatedly defeating the Ghilzais and the Turks. He deposed Tahmasp in August 1732, replacing him by his infant son as emperor with the title of Abbas III. In 1736, he convened a National Council to elect their ruler. A committee of six of his adherents elected him "as one who had cleared the page of the kingdom from its pollution by enemies." His first expedition after his coronation was led against the Bakhtiaris whose country he devastated, captured their chief and took many prisoners but following his usual policy of conciliating the defeated enemy, he gave new lands to the Bakhtiaris to settle in and enlisted a number of them in his army, a "statesman-like policy which proved conspicuously successful."

The Afghan Campaign (1737-1738)

Nadir had broken the back of Afghan resistance, but the Afghans were still firmly established in Qandhar. The capture of Qandhar was essential from a military point of view as well as the maintenance of Persian prestige and territorial integrity. Qandhar was then governed by Husain, brother of Mahmud, who had earlier captured Isphahan. Nadir Shah led an army of 80,000 against Qandhar. He knew that he could not capture the fort by assault or by bombardment as he had not the necessary cannon for it and the fort was well provisioned, strongly fortified and had a large garrison. He started to blockade the fort by surrounding it with a ring of forts, 28 miles in circumference, with towers at intervals of 100 yards. For his main army, he built a walled town, two miles to the south-east of Qandhar and named it Nadirabad. The country around was systematically despoiled to provide food supplies for his army. To prevent any military assistance reaching the Afghans, Nadir sent an expedition against Mahabat Khan, the Chief of Kalat, who submitted after being defeated twice. Nadir Shah treated him with kindness and appointed him governor of Baluchistan. After one year's siege, Nadir Shah succeeded in capturing by assault the Burj-i-Dada, the chief defence of the fort. Husain realizing the futility of further resistance, surrendered to Nadir through the intercession of his sister, Zainab, in March 1738. Husain with his followers was sent a prisoner to Mazanderan along with Zulfiqar, the Abdali chief, and his

brother, Ahmad. Qandhar was destroyed and its population shifted to Nadirabad. Nadir enrolled in his army several thousand Ghilzais. "The north-western bastion of the defence which the Mughuls had striven for so long to secure was in the hands of another of the great raiders and the road to India lay open."[8]

Nadir's Capture of Kabul and Peshawar

After the capture of Qandhar and his conciliation of the Ghilzais and Abdalis, he proceeded to invade Kabul ostensibly to punish the Afghans who had found refuge there as well as to tread the path, like the earlier invaders, to military glory and immense riches of the effete and weak Mughul Empire. During his campaign against the Afghans, he had sent an envoy Ali Mardan Shamlu, to the Mughul Emperor requesting him to prevent the Afghan refugees from entering Ghazni and Kabul and thus form a rallying point for the Afghans against him. The envoy was assured that necessary instructions had been issued to the governor of Kabul. The infiltration of the Afghans into Mughul territory, however, continued. A second envoy was given similar assurance, and by an act of supreme folly the third envoy was detained in Delhi. Muhammad Shah had been advised by his Chief Minister to help Tahmasp against Nadir, but always weak and vacillating, he neither helped Tahmasp nor the Afghans, nor did he do anything to placate Nadir. Nadir now proceeded against Kabul in 1738 capturing Ghazni on the way, its governor having fled to Kabul. Nasir Khan, the governor of Kabul, had apprised the Emperor of the recent happenings, and sought reinforcement and payment of part of his salary which he had not received for the last five years. "He himself", wrote the governor, "was but a rose-bud withered by the blasts of autumn while his soldiery was no more than a faded pageant, ill-provided and without spirit." Failing to receive any assistance, he fled to Peshawar, and Kabul was occupied by Nadir. Nadir wrote again from Kabul to Muhammad Shah, but his messenger was detained and later killed by the Governor of Jalalabad. Nadir himself proceeded to Jalalabad to punish the Governor. From there, he marched to the Khaiber Pass where Nasir Khan blocked his way with 20,000 Afghans. Nadir Shah avoided the usual route and marching through a difficult mountainous country, attacked Nasir Khan from the rear and defeated and captured him. He then marched to Peshawar

which he captured. In January, 1739, he crossed the Indus. Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore, was defeated. He made his submission and saved the city from being sacked by paying 20 lakhs of rupees in gold. He was reinstated in his post, and Nadir marched with his army to Sirhind in February, 1739. The Emperor was now thoroughly frightened but succeeded in mustering a motley army of 100,000 strong. He marched to Karnal and entrenched himself there, for Saadat Khan had come up with his contingent but in the confused battle that followed on 24 February, 1739, Saadat Khan was captured and Khan-i-Dauran was mortally wounded. Completely shaken and humiliated with treachery around him and a general mood of defeatism amongst his officers, Muhammad Shah, against the advice of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had mostly kept out of the fight, decided to open negotiations with Nadir Shah. Nizam-ul-Mulk and Azim-ullah Khan were deputed to negotiate the terms of peace. On the following day, Muhammad Shah went in person to meet Nadir Shah and was received with all courtesy and the two sat side by side on a *masnad.* "It was as if two suns had risen in the east or as if two bright moons shed their light at one time." The negotiations were conducted in a spirit of friendship and courtesy. The dying advice of Khan-i-Dauran had been never to take the Emperor to Nadir nor take Nadir to Delhi. This advice was ignored. Nadir Shah agreed to return to his country on payment of rupees fifty lakhs. Saadat Khan out of spite for Nizam-ul-Mulk, advised Nadir Shah to go to Delhi where untold riches awaited him for the taking. When Muhammad Shah and Nizam-ul-Mulk visited him a second time, they were detained and Nadir Shah insisted on proceeding to Delhi. The Marahatha envoy at the Mughul court foreseeing the tragedy that was to follow is reported to have exclaimed. "God has averted a great danger from me and enabled me to escape with honour. The Chaghtai Empire is gone, Irani Empire had commenced."[9] Nadir Shah justified his action in the following words. "It is strange that you (Muhammad Shah) should be so unconcerned and regardless of your own affairs, that notwithstanding I wrote you several letters, sent an ambassador, and testified friendship for you, your ministers should not think proper to send me a satisfactory answer; and by reason of your want of command and discipline over your people,

one of my ambassadors, contrary to all laws, has been killed in your dominions."

"Even when I entered your Empire, you seemed under no concern for your affairs, nor so much as send to ask who I was or what was my design...Moreover, your predecessors were wont to take the *jiziah* from the infidels, and you in your reign have given it to them, having in these 20 years, suffered the Empire to be overrun by them."[10]

"But as hitherto the race of Timur have not injured or misbehaved towards the Saffi (safawi) family, and the people of Persia, I shall not take the empire from you. Only as your indolence and pride have obliged me to march so far, and that I have been put to an extraordinary expense, and my men, on account of the long marches, are much fatigued, and in want of necessaries, I must go to Delhi, and there continue some days, until the army is refreshed, and the peshkash (tribute) that Nizam-ul-Mulick has agreed to (50 lakhs of rupees), is made good to me; after that, I shall leave you to look after your own affairs."[1]

Muhammad Shah was permitted to proceed to Delhi in advance to accord a fitting reception to Nadir Shah. The latter followed him on the next day, (9 March, 1739.) Muhammad Shah played the host and all went well in the captial. The first tragedy that marred the otherwise tranquil atmosphere was the suicide of Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk.[12] Nadir Shah told Muhammad Shah that he "acted with great dignity and restraint," but a clash occurred on the eve of Holi festival between the Persian soldiers and the people of Delhi in which several Persians were killed. When Nadir Shah heard of it on the morning of 11 March, he was infuriated and ordered a general massacre of the unfortunate people of Delhi. The situation is thus described by a contemporary writer. "The result may be imagined; one moment seemed to have sufficed for universal destruction. The Chandni chauk, the fruit market, the Daribah Bazar and the buildings around the Masjid-i-Jama were set fire to and all were slaughtered. Here and there some opposition was offered, but in most places, people were butchered unresistingly. The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody; cloth, jewels dishes of gold and silver, were acceptable spoil. The author beheld these horrors from his mansion, situated in the Wakilpura Mohalla

outside the city, resolved to fight to the last if necessary, and with the help of God to fall at least with honour. But the Lord be praised; the work of destruction did not extend beyond the above named parts of the capital. Since the days of Hazrat Sahib-i-Kiran, Amir Timur, who captured Delhi and ordered the inhabitants to be massacred, up to the present time (A.H. 1151), a period of 348 years, the capital had been free from such visitations. The ruin in which its beautiful streets and buildings were now involved was such that the labour of years could alone restore the town to its former state of grandeur."[13]

Immense booty fell into the hands of the Persians. According to Fraser, 2,00,000 persons were killed and in addition to 70 crores of rupees, the Peacock throne, Koh-i-Noor and other jewels, Nadir Shah carried away with him[14] 100 elephants, 7000 horses, 10,000 camels, 100 eunuchs, 130 writers, 200 smiths, 300 masons and builders, 100 stone cutters, and 200 carpenters."[15]

The grand-daughter of Alamgir was married to the son of Nadir Shah. A public Darbar was held and Muhammad Shah was reinstated as Emperor. The parting advice that he gave to Muhammad Shah was: "In the first place, you must seize all the omra's jaguirs, and pay each of them, according to his *mansab* and rank with ready money out of the treasury. You are to allow none to keep any forces of his own, but you yourself are constantly to keep 60,000 chosen horsemen, at sixty rupees per month, every ten men to have *dehbashi* (officer over ten men), over every ten *dehbashis*, one *sajawal* (officer over 100) and over every ten *sajawals*, one *hazari*. You ought to be well acquainted with the merits of each – his name, family and nation (race) – not allowing any of them, officers, soldiers and others to be idle or inactive; (and) when an occasion may require, despatch a sufficient number, under the command of one whom you can trust for good conduct, courage and fidelity, and when that business is over, recall them immediately, not letting any person to stay too long in command, for fear of bad consequences. You are more particularly to beware of Nizam-ul-Mulk, whom by his conduct, I find to be full of cunning and self-interested, and more ambitious than becomes a subject."

The trans-Indus provinces from Kashmir to Sindh and Thatha and parts subordinate to it were ceded to Nadir in lieu of tribute

by the grateful Emperor. The governor of Lahore agreed to send 20 lakhs of rupees a year for the withdrawal of Persian soldiers, east of the Indus. Nadir Shah marched back to Kabul on 5 May, 1739. On the way he had to chastise the Yusufzais, but made peace with them and enrolled a large number of them in his army.

Before leaving India, he had asked Khudayar Khan, the Kalhora chief of Sindh, to present himself at Kabul. The latter disobeyed the order and Nadir led an expedition by the Kurram valley and reaching Umar Kot secured the submission of Khudayar Khan. He was forgiven and reinstated as governor of a part of his former dominions. Nadir marched back to Qandhar through the Bolan Pass. During his last years, he was mainly occupied in fighting the rebellious elements in his own country. He was assassinated in his camp on 2 June, 1747.

Nadir had left the country bleeding, the king stupefied and humbled, and the noblemen more divided and demoralized. After two months of Nadir's retirement, the noblemen were again, lustily and without any concern for the future of the Empire, intriguing against each other.

Nadir Shah left Delhi on 5 May, 1739. Eight days after his departure, a public darbar was held with the usual ceremonies "as if no political disaster of the first magnitude had taken place." Qamar-ud-Din Khan Itimad-ud-Daulah continued as *wazir*, and Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, his cousin, as the Mir Bakhshi. Safdar Jang, the nephew of Burhan-ul-Mulk, was confirmed in the government of Awadh and Zakariya Khan, son of Khan-i-Dauran, received the Punjab and Multan. Shuja-ud-Din Muhammad Khan, son-in-law of Jafar Khan, who had died in 1726, carried on the government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in place of Khan-i-Dauran. On his death on 24 March, 1739, he was succeeded by his son, Sarfaraz Khan, who bore the title of Ala-ud-Daula. Ali Vardi Khan, entitled Mahabat Jang, who had been appointed governor of Bihar by the father of Sarfaraz Khan, had old personal grudge against Sarfaraz and succeeded in March, 1740, in receiving a commission to displace Sarfaraz Khan. Ali Vardi Khan out-manouvred Sarfraz and in the battle that followed, Sarfaraz was killed and Ali Vardi Khan secured the governorship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 12 May, 1740. On the

death of the Peshwa, he was succeeded by his son, Balaji Rao. In the Deccan, Nasir Jang, the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had been left in the Deccan assumed independent power. Nizam-ul-Mulk returned to the Deccan, captured the rebel son in August, 1741, and imprisoned him.

But the recent unprecedented calamity did nothing to still the shameless scramble for power, pelf and prestige amongst the noblemen or make the Emperor take steps to repair the damage that had been done to his personal dignity or the plight of his subjects. Always dominated by his household favourites rather than by the high ranking officers of State, he fell under the influence of Amir Khan, Muhammad Ishaq and Asad Yar.

Amir Khan II, Umdat-ul-Mulk, was the son of Amir Khan I, Alamgir's distinguished governor of Kabul and well connected both on his father's and mother's side. Highly accomplished, witty, quick at *repartee*, himself a poet and a patron of learning, he was completely lacking in military experience or administrative qualities. He became the favourite and confidant of Muhammad Shah. The Emperor's favour made him arrogant, vain, rude and offensive both to the *wazir* and the Nizam. Muhammad Ishaq, a man of humbler origin, a Persian by birth was "an accomplished speaker and well read in Persian." Elegant and of refined tastes, sober and discreet, he won the heart of the Emperor and became his constant companion. Muhammad Shah appointed him *Diwan-i-Khalisa* with the rank of 6000. His daughter, Bahu Begum, was married by royal order to Shuja-ud-Daulah and became the mother of Asaf-ud-Daulah. After his death on 18 April, 1740, his son Mir Muhammad succeeded to his title and continued to enjoy the favours of the Emperor. Asad Yar Khan, a native of Agra, rose from a humble position and soon after being introduced at the court, he obtained the rank of six *hazari* and the title of Asad-ud-Daulah. Of the three, he was liked the most because of his pleasant manners, benevolence, discretion and uniform courtesy to high and low.

Safdar Jang, who had succeeded to the subadari of Awadh in 1739 after the death of his uncle and father-in-law, Burhan-ul-Mulk, maintained a large contingent of 20,000 Mughul troops personally selected, well - paid and highly efficient. This included some Hindustanis mainly from Kashmir who were *shias* and spoke Persian.

Muhammad Shah's army was smaller in numbers, ill-equipped and ill-paid as compared with the armies maintained by the officers of state He raised a new contingent of 10,000 soldiers which came to be known as *Shamshir Dagh Risala,* to supplement the depleted imperial army. The enrolment of the full force, however, never properly materialized for financial reasons.

The old rivalry between the Turani and Irani factions was again revived after Nadir Shah's retirement. The Emperor now turned against the Turani party which he feared and hated. Amir Khan now worked on the mind of Muhammad Shah to remove Qamar-ud-Din from the *wizarat* and appoint him in his place. Amir Khan, further to replenish the treasury, suggested the enforcement of the old practice of taking over the property of deceased nobles by the State. The first victim was to be Badr-ud-Din, the son of the *wazir*, who had died recently. Qamar-ud-Din Khan learning of the plot against him left Delhi, sent in his resignation and joined his cousin, Asaf Jah, who was staying in the suburbs preparing to leave for the Deccan. Muhammad Shah was in a dilemma. He was more afraid of the hostility of the Turanis than the help he could receive to neutralize that faction from the Iranian party. He surrendered Amir Khan to the *wazir* who made his peace with Nizam-ul-Mulk and a rapprochement was arrived at by Amir Khan being removed from the court and sent to Allahabad. The Nizam then left for the Deccan on 27 July, 1740.

The political situation in the country was extremely unsettled and disturbing. The trans-Indus provinces had been surrendered to Nadir Shah and uneasy and uncertain peace purchased in the west at the cost of constant fear of further encroachments. Malwa had been surrendered virtually to the Peshwa, but the Marahathas started raiding Bengal, Bihar and Orissa after 1742. Safdar Jang was sent against the Marahathas, but before he could do anything , Ali Vardi Khan had pushed the Marahathas back.

Amir Khan along with other leading nobles was summoned to the court in August 1743. Safdar Jang came with a well-equipped army and was appointed *Mir Atish* in place of the Turani, Saad-ud-Din Khan, who had died in June 1743. The return of Amir Khan and the favours shown to Safdar Jang placed the Iranian party once again in power. Asad Yar, the absentee governor of Kashmir, was

removed from that office. The *Shamsher dagh* regiment was disbanded and the arrears of salary were paid by Asad Yar Jang from the sale of his personal effects. Asad Yar died on 15 April, 1745.

Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhila had after the death of Daud Khan considerably added to his possessions and came to be recognized as the leader of the Afghans in the country around Badaun and Moradabad. In recognition of his services, he had received the title of Nawab and the government of some parganas, besides being incharge of the assignment of Qamar-ud-Din Khan. The latter appointed Raja Khan, now commandant of Moradabad, and ordered him to look into the accounts of the territory held by Ali Muhammad Khan. The latter resisted the commandant and attacked and killed him. Muhammad Shah himself marched against the rebel on 18 March, 1745, and Ali Muhammad Khan submitted on 3 June, 1745 and was placed in the custody of Qamar-ud-Din Khan.

Zakariya Khan died on 1, July 1745. His eldest son was despatched to Lahore, but he was ousted by Shah Nawaz Khan who became governor of the Punjab. Umdat-ul-Mulk had been entrusted with carrying on the work of Qamar-ud-Din Khan when the latter was incapacitated as a result of falling while drunk. He so annoyed and irritated the Emperor that he was dismissed from service and later stabbed to death on 6 January, 1747, by a hired assassin.

The Afghan Invasion

After the death of Nadir Shah on 2 June, 1747, Ahmad Shah Abdali established himself in Herat, captured Qandhar, and expelled Nasir Khan, a former Mughul governor of Kabul, who had been employed by Nadir Shah in the same post. Ahmad Shah now assumed the royal title and laid the foundation of the first sovereign national state of Afghanistan. Following the old practice of those who had before him secured the control of the valley of Afghanistan, he cast longing looks on the plains of the Punjab to win for himself and his nation glory as well as riches. The intrigues at the court of the Governor of Lahore and the weakness and demoralization of the Mughuls gave him the excuse, if an excuse was needed, to invade the country.

Sarfaraz Khan, who had displaced his elder brother, found his position insecure in Lahore. One of his advisers, Adina Beg,[16] taking advantage of his fears, egged him on to seek the assistance of Ahmad

Shah and enter into correspondence with him. Ahmad Shah was all too willing to help. Adina Beg, whom Wolseley Haig with harshness characterises as a "devil in human form," to save his skin and curry favour with the Delhi government, apprised at the same time Qamar-ud-Din Khan of Sarfaraz's dealings with Ahmad Shah Abdali. Qamar-ud-Din Khan succeeded in persuading Sarfaraz to return to the fold and the latter repudiated his agreement with the Afghans. Ahmad Shah Abdali had no intention of keeping out of the agreement. He advanced to Peshawar and called upon Sarfaraz to permit him to pass through the Punjab and accompany him with his army to Delhi. With an army of 30,000, Ahmad Shah crossed the Indus and invaded the Punjab. Sarfaraz put up a half-hearted fight but was defeated and forced to accompany Ahmad Shah.

Muhammad Shah hastily mustered an army and sent it under his son, Ahmad, against the invader. Leaving Delhi on 19 January, 1748, the army marched through Sirhind to Machhiwara on the Sutlaj. Ahmad Shah Abdali avoiding the imperial army captured Sirhind. Prince Ahmad turned back and entrenched himself before the Afghan army. On 22 March, 1748, Qamar-ud-Din Khan was killed by a stray cannon shot while saying his prayers in his tent. His death disheartened the imperialists, but Safdar Jang and Muin-ul-Mulk saved the situation and succeeded in defeating the Afghans who began to return to Afghanistan in the night. Muin-ul-Mulk received the government of Punjab while Safdar Jang returned to Delhi.

Muhammad Shah fell sick of dropsy and died on 26 April, 1748, while dispensing justice in the capital before Prince Ahmad Shah could return to the capital. On 29 April, 1748 the Prince was enthroned in the Shalimar gardens outside Delhi as Emperor Ahmad Shah.

Character of Muhammad Shah

Muhammad Shah's name has gone down in history as Muhammad Shah Rangila, "The Gay Emperor." Keene describes him as "easy going, personally brave but morally irresolute." A Mughul friend said of him "that his soul was like the waters of a lake, easily agitated by a passing storm, but settling at once as soon as the disturbance was over." He came to the throne at a very young age without much administrative and military experience or much native intelligence or resoluteness. His first great achievement was by guile and clever

manouvres to have rid himself of the Sayyids who had since the death of Jahandar Shah played with the lives of the Mughul Princes. After their fall, he appears to have lost his determination to maintain his power and assert his will. He had neither the qualifications nor experience or determination to fight against the rising tide of opposition to Mughul authority or bend or break the officers of the state to carry out the work of reconstruction. The only thing he succeeded in doing was to keep his head on his shoulders and die a natural death, a no mean achievement in those pitiless times.

Muhammad Shah had not received any systematic education nor had he any previous experience of civil or military affairs. Brought up in an atmosphere of intrigue and senseless pursuit of power by noblemen, he had only his wits, power of dissimulation and pliancy which made him keep his head and throne for the hectic twenty-nine years of his reign. Fear and suspicion jostled with a Timuri prince's love of power, wealth and glory. He was not devoid of noble and good qualities. According to the author of Mirat-i-Waridat, he was intelligent, just and cultured. Inspite of the circumstances under which he passed his youth, he was well versed in Arabic, Persian, Turki and was proficient in archery and horsemanship. He was God-fearing and humane and during his long reign of nearly thirty years "he never had harmed an ant."[18] A change came over him soon after the fall of the Sayyids and he gradually allowed power to pass into the hands of his ministers and boon companions.

Muhammad Shah, from the commencement of his reign, displayed the greatest carelessness in his government, spending all his time in sport and play. This neglect on the part of the sovereign was speedily taken advantage of by all the *amirs* and nobles who usurped possession of *subas* and *parganas*, and appropriated to themselves the revenues of those provinces, which in former days were paid into the Royal treasury, and amounted to several *crores* of rupees. From these provinces not one farthing found its way into the royal chest.[19] Music, dancing parties and other festive parties offered an escape from the chaotic conditions of life. This was due to the hostility of the nobles and fear for his own life. He wore the dress of females and surrounded himself with women, catamites, buffoons and singers, his favourite amongst others being Basant a young boy, and Kokije and Nur Bai, a famous dancer of Delhi.[20]

Kokije or Rahimunnisa was the daughter of Jan Muhammad *Rammal* (geomancer). She was well educated, charming and wilful and gained proficiency in calligraphy and composition. Her father gained considerable influence over Nawab Qudsiya, the mother of Muhammad Shah, and Rahimunnisa became her constant companion. She was declared in order to give her a social status, as the foster-sister, 'Koki', of the Emperor. She exercised considerable influence on state affairs and many an officer joined her to gain favour at the court.[21] Her two close confederates were the eunuch Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan[22] (d,21 June, 1732) and Raushan-ud-Daulah[23] (d, 23 April, 1736), "a man of great power and small performance." Another evil influence was that of Shah Abdul Ghaffar Khan who hailed from Sindh and after many vicissitudes had settled in Delhi and acquired a reputation for saintliness and efficacy of his charms and amulets which his agents sold to credulous people. He soon attracted the attention of Kokiji and through her of Qudsiya Begum and Muhammad Amin Khan. He gathered a number of followers and amassed immense wealth and gained power in state circles and dominated Muhammad Shah for 12 years. But his arrogance and cupidity cost him soon his life. He was charged with having misappropriated 3 crores of rupees. He was called upon to render account of his defalcations. Failing to do so he was arrested, put in prison and one crore of rupees in cash was recovered from his house. He was sent a prisoner to Rohtas where he died on 5 March, 1736.

In spite of his weaknesses and love of ease, Muhammad Shah was not devoid of courage. His decision to visit Nadir Shah in his camp was an act requiring fearlessness. On Fridays, he visited theologians, and mausoleums and spent considerable sums in charity. He became fond of the society of *faqirs*, and Shakir mentions three of them.

"His Majesty gave Shah Mubarak the title of Burhan-ul-Tariqat, Shah Badda that of Burhan-ul-Haqiqat, and Shah Ramz, Fasih-ul-Bayan, and used often to frequent their company. All the ministers and rich lords followed suit. Other people also imitated, him, so much so that the bazar craftsmen in the village of every province put on imitation turbans on their heads and *taqdir* tunic, on their backs, till at last even the women took up the fashion."[24]

Whenever depressed or faced with danger, he would go out and

find relief in the garden laid out by him and named Aish Mahal. "For some years past," says another annalist, "this has been the practice of the Imperial Court that whenever the officers of the Deccan or Gujarat and Malwa reported the sad news of the arrival of the Marahathas in the Empire, the Emperor in order in soothe his heart afflicted by such sad news, either visited gardens (new and leafless) or went into the plains for hunting, while the grand *wazir*, Itimad-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Din Khan went to console his heart by looking at water lotuses, and would spend one month or even more in tents of pleasure, hunt fish in the rivers and deer in the plains."[25] "We wonder whether such spectacles would be considered a worthy diversion by any one outside a nursery unless he were a vulgar country clown, and whether the lord of a hundred and fifty million souls at the ripe age of forty one had no more serious use for his time and no higher tastes."[26] Muhammad Shah had a strong sense of justice and humanity. The chain of justice still hung in the palace. Two anecdotes reveal this streak in the character of the otherwise listless, apathetic, pleasure-mad sovereign. One night one of the Baksaria infantry man placed as guard over the *Kotha* (room) of jewels, dug a hole in its roof, entered it and stole a jewelled gold *kanthi* (necklace). In trying to creep out of the hole, he slipped, fell down on the floor, broke his leg and lay there helpless. Next day he was discovered there. Ordered to be brought before the Emperor, Muhammad Shah asked him, "O ! shameless one ! You stole where you were appointed a watchman. Could you not find any other place (more appropriate) for thieving in ?" The Baksaria replied, "My salary is due for 12 months from government. It is not just that my salary should remain in this *kotha* and I should commit theft elsewhere. I also thought that there could be no better place, than the Emperor's palace for committing theft in." The Emperor smiled and gave him his due salary and kept him in service as a watchman.

The son of Siddi Fulad, *Kotwal* of Delhi, had friendship with the sons of Rai Shivdas. One day the Siddi's secretary killed the two sons of Shivdas. Their widowed mother, with bare head lay down outside the gate of Delhi fort crying for justice. The Emperor called upon the Qazi to decide the case according to the Quran. The Qazi in order to save his friend Fulad's kinsman said that firstly,

there was no proof, and secondly, for one Musalman five Hindus' lives ought to be taken. The widow offered to be slain with her sons' widows, if justice was not done on the Siddi. The Emperor rebuked the Qazi and challenged him to point out where the Quran enjoined that for one Musalman's life, five Hindus' lives ought to be taken. He had the Siddi executed.[27]

The age of Muhammad Shah in spite of political disintegration, impoverishment of the many to enrich a few, fear of foreign invasions and internal commotions was a period of culture and refinement. The age saw the rise of Urdu, and of religious revivalism. It was an age of lights and shadows in which one finds soldiers, statesman, poets, religious leaders, pimps, scoundrels and prostitutes jostling with each other to wrest from life, pleasure, poise, safety, security and salvation according to their moods and opportunities.[28]

Muhammad Shah was not unaware of the old world falling around him. He was a fatalist and buried himself in a joyless existence as an escapist from the hard realities of life. An order issued by him after Nadir Shah's return from India reveals poignantly, but with dignity, his state of mind. "After the departure of Nadir Shah, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect : "All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, except the historians. These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. The reins of Imperial or Supreme Government have fallen from my hands. I am now the viceroy of Nadir Shah." Notwithstanding that the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to withdraw this order, His Majesty would not be satisfied. Consequently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate, and laid down their pens."[29]

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REFERENCES

CHAPTER IV

1. For an assessment of the character and policy of Sayyid Brothers, see Satish Chandra, pp. 163-65.
2. Scott, p. 171.
3. Sir Wolsey Haig, The Cambridge History of India Vol. IV, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1957, p. 347.
4. Mirat-i-Waridat, Folio 117.
5. Ibid, Fol. is 5.
6. For the rise of Nadir Shah to power, see Chapter I.
7. W.R. Fraser Tytler, Afghānistan, O.U. Press, London, Second Edition p. 40.
8. For details see Irvine, pp. 354-360, Anand Ram Mukhlis in E & D,p. 87, Vol. VIII, Srivastava, pp. 61-75.
9. The reference is to the Marahathas. Nadir Shah was a staunch Sunni and hated all infidels. See Fraser, pp. 66-69.
10. E. & D. Vol. VIII, pp, 88-89.
11. Srivastava p. 75.
12. E. & D. Vol. VIII, p. 88.
13. Fraser, pp. 119-20.
14. Ibid, pp. 119-20.
15. For Adina Beg, see Chapter on the Punjab in Part II.
16. Mirat-i-Waridat, p. 397.
17. Ibid.
18. E. & D. Vol. VIII, pp, 104-5.
19. Irvine, II, pp. 203-265, Khafi Khan, 940 ; Khafi Khan speaks of her as Koki Padshah, Siyar, 75.
20. She was the mistress of Muhammad Shah and was later educated by one of his officers. She danced and sang before Nadir Shah who paid her 4000 rupees and wanted to take her to Iran. See Muraqqa-i-Delhi, Dargah Quli, pp. 73-74.
21. Khafi Khan, p. 940.
22. Maasir-ul-Umara, II, 333.
23. Shakir, 33.
24. Mirat, 9.
25. Sarkar, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.
26. Chahar Gulzār-i-Shujahi, f. 497.
27. For a fuller account of the state of society, see the last Chapter in Part II.
28. Tarikh-i-Mūghlia of Muhammad Khafi Turani, E. & D., Vol VIII, pp, 21- 22

CHAPTER V

MUGHUL EMPIRE AFTER MUHAMMAD SHAH

1748—1806

Section 1 : Ahmad Shah 1748—1754

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his only son, Ahmad Shah, who was then twenty-two years of age. [1] He assumed the title of Mujahid-ud-Din Abdul Nasr Ahmad Shah Ghazi. He was utterly inexperienced as he had had no administrative and military experience before succession to the throne which Mughul princes customarily received. He had spent most of his time in the haram neglected and stinted by his father. He grew up as "a good natured imbecile without a personality of his own and entirely dominated by others"[2] Muhammad Shah "locked up his son Ahmad Shah in one part of the citadel not wishing him to appear in public. He kept him in greatest indigence and would not allow him to indulge in the game of *chaugan*, hunting, shooting or any royal sports"[3]. Like Kaiqubad who succeeded Balban, he gave himself to sensual pleasures allowing the eunuch, Jawid Khan, to carry on the business of state to the utter disgust of senior officers. Jawid Khan was then 52 years of age and could neither read nor write. He was appointed *Darogha* of *Diwan-i-Khas* with a *mansab* of 6000.

Nizam-ul-Mulk died in the Deccan on 21 May, 1748 and Ahmad Khan Nasir Jang, a younger son, was appointed in his place, Abdul Mansur Safdar Jang was appointed *wazir* and the post of *Bakhshi*-i-*Mamalik* was bestowed on Sayyid Salabat Khan Zulfiqar Jang. The Queen mother Udham Bai, a former dancing girl, [4] was now styled Hazrat Qibla-i-Alim and Bai Jiu Sahiba with a mansab of 50,000, and along with Jawid Khan who was very intimate with her, she managed "the rule of the whole empire" She used to hold audiences, listen to reports and issue orders. "O God;" lamented the court historian, "that the affairs of Hindustan should be conducted by a woman so foolish as this." Her only relieving feature was her love for her son and the generosity and magnanimity with which she treated some members of the royal family. Her attitude to

Muhammad Shah's other wives was, however, one of scorn and vindictiveness.

Ahmad Shah was extremely childish, devoid of sense and utterly indifferent to what was happening around him. He nominated his three years old son as the governor of the Punjab and another baby boy one year old, as his son's deputy and Tala' Said Shah who was one year old, as the *subadar* of Kashmir. During the last two or three year of his reign, he started personally transacting the business of state but ineffectively and without any results. According to the author of Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, the young Emperor, though of a pleasure loving temperament. had intelligence and was quick at repartee. He was quite learned and could write letters in Turkish. All these good qualities were "neutralized by his utter incapacity for action and for judging character and choosing proper agents."

Udham Bai's intimacy with Jawid Khan who used to spend his nights in the *haram* scandalised the people. The royal guards whose salaries were in arrears retaliated by tying up a young ass (representing Jawid Khan) and a bitch (the Queen mother) outside the palace gates. Udham Bai conferred on her brother Man Khan, a professional dancer, 6-hazari *mansab* and the title of Mutaqad-ud-Daulah. Jawid Khan was given the title of Nawab and the much coveted Mahi-i-Maratib, kettle drum and a fringed *palki*. "No eunuch had exercised such power in the state since the time of Timur." In the midst of the ever-increasing discontent of the army and the general impoverishment of the state, Udham Bai spent two crores of rupees on celebrating her birthday.

Of the important *subas* Muin-ul-Mulk held the Punjab, Agra and Ajmer were given to Salabat Khan, and Allahabad and Awadh to Safdar Jang. Ali Vardi Khan who held Bengal and the Peshwa in Malwa were left undisturbed. The project of recovering Gujarat from the Marahathas was given up as not feasible.

The administration had started crumbling up in the time of Muhammad Shah, after the invasion of Nadir Shah. The state had become bankrupt, the principal sources of revenue having been appropriated by provincial governors. Rebellious zamindars and the ever-recurring depredations of the Jats, the Sikhs and the Marahathas had dried up the sources of income. The army was in a rebellious state and the disbandment of some army contingents "annihilated for all practical purposes" the armed strength of the Empire. Shakir Khan thus describes the condition of the army in

the early years of Ahmad Shah :

"After Ahmad Shah's accession, in the course of time matters came to such a pass that a descriptive list of all articles in the imperial stores—the arms, carpets, cooking utensils and dinner plate, books and hand instruments, and articles of every other *karkhanah*,——was prepared and these articles were sold to the shopkeepers and pedlars, and most of the money thus realized was spent in paying the troops. This opened the door to the most unseemly and unspeakable mockery and insult by the public ... Opulence was turned into distress. The Central Asian (*vilayati*) soldiers and the Emperor's household troops forcibly carried off the valuable articles of all kinds from the houses of *wazirs*, *amirs*, *sahus*, traders and artisans, to the shops (and sold them), thus reducing the nobles to disgaace. The *amirs* had no help but to wear only the clothes they stood in and to eat off earthen plates ... when the Emperor ordered an inquiry, it was found that the soldiers' salary was three years in arrear. What chance was there of a farthing remaining in the Treasury? It became a reign of petty tribal chiefs (muluk-ut-tawaif)."[5]

The destitution of the members of the imperial household may be judged by an incident recounted by Shakir Khan. During Muharram, when a dish of *halim* was brought for inspection, "Prince told me" writes Shakir Khan, "Give this cup to the people of the haram because for the last three days no fire has been kindled under the *clouds* within the walls of the haram."[6]

Safdar Jang found his new post of *wazir*, which office he had assumed on 20 June, 1748, a bed of thorns. Being a new comer to India, he was "considered an interloper" by the old nobility. The Turkish faction at the court resented his elevation to office as an affront and injustice to them. Intizam-ud-Doulah, the son of Qamar-ud-Din had hoped to succeed as *wazir*, while Ghazi-ud-Din,the eldest son of the Nizam, aspired to the important and coveted post of *Mir Bakhshi*. Racial and sectarian differences further aggravated the antagonism between the Turanian and Iranian factions.

Jawid Khan, the evil genius of Ahmad Shah, succeeded in poisoning the mind of the "brainless" Emperor against Safdar Jang. An attempt at his life having failed, Nasir Jang was invited from the Deccan to help the Emperor in ousting Safdar Jang. This

move also was thwarted by Safdar Jang's enlisting support of Malhar Rao Holkar and Jivaji Sindhia. This frightened Ahmad Shah who made his peace with Safdar Jang on 7 April, 1749, and ordered Nasir Jang to retire to the Deccan. Both Nasir Jang and Safdar Jang had been counting on Marahatha assistance but the tortuous policy helped neither party and only lowered the prestige of the Empire. Jawid Khan now succeeded in securing the appointment of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan as *Mir Bakhshi.* with the title of Amir-ul Umara and the subadari of Agra. Intizam-ud-Doulah was appointed subadar of Ajmer with the title of Khan Khanan on 7 June, 1751. On the murder of Nasir Jang in the south on 5 December, 1751,Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Firuz Jang was nominated to the Deccan but he could not proceed there for want of funds and lack of forces. Safdar Jang was at this time locked in a conflict of his own making with the Rohillas, while Shah Abdali was poised for an invasion of Delhi.

Ahmad Shah Abdali

In the autumn of 1749, Ahmad Shan Abdali set out for the Punjab. Muin-ul-Mulk in order to stop the advance of the Afghans encamped at Sodhra on the Chenab. Desultory skirmishes followed. Failing to receive any help from Delhi and his involvement with the Sikhs, Muin opened negotiations with Ahmad Shah through Maulvi Abdullah. By February 1750, Abdali agreed to retire on a promise of 14 lakhs of rupees from the revenue of 4 *mahals* of Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujarat and Aurangabad. In December 1751, Abdali invaded the Punjab again. This time he was more successful. Lahore was captured by the Afghans on March, 1752. There was panic in Delhi as the memories of the invasion of Nadir Shah and the ruthless spoilation of the capital by the Persians was still fresh in the minds of the people. The Emperor sent peremptory orders to Safdar Jang to return to the capital and negotiate with the Marahathas for an alliance with the Mughuls agaist the Afghans.

The Marahathas

Safdar Jang opened negotiations with the Marahathas and arranged for a "defensive subsidiary treaty" with the Peshwa. According to the terms of the treaty 50 lakhs of rupees were to be paid to the Peshwa for his armed support. The right to collect *chauth* from the Punjab and Sindh and the four *mahals* of Sialkot, Pasrur, Aurangabad and Gujarat was recognized. The districts of Hisar, Sambhal,

Moradabad and Badaun were also assigned to the Marahathas. The Peshwa was appointed governor of Ajmer and Agra and besides being commissioned to help the Emperor in keeping Abdali out, he was to suppress domestic rebels "and help in wresting the lands usurped by local Rajahs and Zamindars and restore them to imperial officers." The Emperor accepted all these terms but as Safdar Jang delayed his return to Delhi, the Emperor was so panic stricken that he made a formal surrender of Punjab and Sindh to Abdali. The tardiness of Safdar Jang was mainly responsible for his abject surrender. Abdali's invasions of the Punjah had crushed Turani prestige there. According to Sarkar, "Safdar Jang had deliberately prolonged the imperial court's agony of terror and suspense in order to enhance his own importance and power there on his return as its sole deliverer."[7]

But it is not fair to put all the blame on Safdar Jang. The Emperor and his immediate advisers and their criminal indifference to and disregard of the changing military, political and economic scene, made the princes and people ripe for butchery.

When Safdar Jang returned to Delhi on 25 April 1752 with his allies, the Marahthas, the surrender of Punjab and Sindh had made the Marahatha help superfluous. Safdar Jang wanted to wriggle out of the commitment but the Marahathas demanded the amount of 50 lakhs promised to them earlier. Failing to get the money, they started plundering the countryside forty miles around Delhi. Jawid Khan now entered into direct negotiation with the unwelcome and dangerous allies and succeeded in buying them off over the head of Safdar Juag. The feud between Jawid Khan and Safdar Jang had reached a stage where a show-down became imminent.

The Jats

Balaram Jat, son of a petty revenue collector, had considerably strengthened his position in Faridabad[8] by emulating other Jat chiefs in defying the imperial authority. Safdar Jang had presonally to conduct a campaign against him and the Jat leader submitted and was given the lease of Paliwal and Faridabad which he now controlled from his newly built mud-fort of Ballamgarh. Jawid later won over Balaram who started plundering the crown lands in Sikandarabad. Safdar who detested Jawid Khan had him murdered on 27 August 1752 in his own house where he had invited Jawid to

discuss political matters. The death of Jawid left Safdar Jang without a serious rival at the court, but by this dastardly act he antagonized the Emperor and the imperial household.

Safdar Jang

The death of Jawid Khan forced the Queen-mother into the hands of Intizam-ud-Daulah and Imad-ul-Mulk, declared enemies of Safdar Jang. Nizam-ud-Din Intizam-ud-Daulah Khan-i-Khanan was the eldest son of the late wazir Qamar-ud-Din. Intizam was a timid unenterprising man, but his mother Sholapuri Begum was a woman with courage and resourcefulness and she became "the medium of the palace plots for overthrowing Jang." Imad-ul-Mulk was the son of Ghazi-ud-Din Firuz Jang, the eldest son of the Nizam Asaf Jah, and the son-in-law of Qamar-ud-Din. He became the *wazir* of the Empire in June 1754. He had received good education and mastered several languages and was an accomplished penman and a poet He was courageous, enterprising, immensely ambitious but avaricious and cruel. He had inherited immense wealth which he now used to bring about the fall of Safdar Jang.

Safdar Jang's position was unchallenged for seven months after the death of Jawid. This period of respite he utilised in amassing money and taking over the most prosperous jagirs. He did nothing to restore law and order in the State, to promote prosperity of the subjects or save Delhi and its suburbs from the depredations of the Marahathas and the Jats. He made no effort to win the people or secure friends at the court. In the words of the author of Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi "the monarchy was utterly ruined. The Emperor, seeing the wazir's love of disturbance, promotion of the mean, and villainy of spirit and his own helpless condition resigned all authority in the state to him and wasted his days in pleasure in the haram...This *wazir* was a desolater of the realm and an impoverisher of his master."[9] He relied mainly on Turkish mercenary soliders whose loyalty to him was uncertain as these soldiers served their masters for money rather than for a principle.

After the death of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan on 29 October 1752, Imad-ul-Mulk fearing for his life and property went to Safdar Jang and besought his protection. The *wazir* took him to the Emperor and had him appointed *Mir Bakhshi*. with the title of Ghazi-ud-Din Bahadur Firuz Jang, Amir-ul-Umara, Imad-ul-Mulk on 12 December 1752 at the age of fifteen. Safdar Jang had taken Imad under his

wings in order to break the power of the Turani Party at the court but his calculations proved wrong.

Safdar Jang strengthened his position by securing the appointment of his retainer, Abu Turab Khan as Qiladar and police-superintendent of the palace-fort. His young son Shuja-ud-Daulah was put in charge of four important departments in the imperial household and later appointed superintendent of audience hall. He thus secured complete control over the palace and the Emperor to the utter disgust of the people and other officers. The seething discontent came to a head in March 1753.

In the middle of March 1753, rumour went round that Intizam-ud-Daulah was preparing to attack Safdar Jang. There was panic in the city. The palace was strongly guarded. On 17 March, Abu Turab fled from the fort and joined Safdar Jang. Thoroughly frightened, Safdar sought permission to go away from Delhi, relinquish the offices he held and surender his effects. The Emperor allowed him to go but left his offices and property untouched. The Emperor got his freedom from the dictator but sought the assistance of the Marahathas in case any contingency arose. Safdar Jang left the city but kept "roving around it." His hopes rose high when Salabat Khan and Suraj Mal joined him during the first week of May. The old city of Delhi was plundered by the Jats on 9th May. He was dismissed from his office on 13th May after a feeble attempt to put up a rival prince on the throne in place of Ahmad Shah had failed. From then on, there was open war but the arrival of Najib Khan on 2 June to the assistance of the Emperor turned the scales against Safdar. After months of desultory warfare, Safdar and his allies, the Jats, were finally defeated on 29 September. He left for Awadh on 7 November. Imad, who had now openly turned against Safdar, was mainly responsible for the disgrace and fall of his former patron. Safdar's haughtiness, his failure to select reliable officers and the lack of political insight were the main factors contributing to his fall. Twenty-three thousands of his soldiers had deserted him and joined the *sin-dagh* brigade. His adherents who were in the city suffered most. "The houses of every known follower of Safdar Jang, of every Persain by birth. and of many innocent men who were merely suspected of being Safdar Jang's partisans, but whose only crime was their wealth, were plundered by the imperialists, at first under

orders, and later at the private initiative of each captain and in spite of the Emperor's prohibition. "Thus total ruin fell on the ex-wazir's party everywhere within the Emperor's reach."[10] The cowardice and shiftiness of Ahmad Shah neutralised the effects of the military superiority and the popular support of the people and lesser chieftains for the imperialists. The Emperor started secret negotiations with Safdar and summoned Madhu Singh, the Raja of Jaipur, to act as peace-maker. Intizam-ud-Doulah worked secretly to thwart Imad and after confused negotiations, a settlement was made with Safdar Jang who finally left for Awadh in November 1753.

The exit of Safdar Jang did not bring peace to Delhi or revive the prestige of the Emperor. "This hectic struggle had exhausted the wealth of the Emperor, dried up the sources of revenue and left the government overwhelmed with debt." But its most baneful effect was the division in the Turani ranks and further rift between Intizam and Imad. The army was in arrears and in order to pay them off Imad decided to reconquer the districts south of Delhi. The Rohillas and the Baluchis were assigned the revenues of the Ganges-Jamuna doab and certain villages east of the Ganges.

Aqibat Mahmud Khan Kashmiri, a wicked and dangeroua man, was sent to conquer the districts south of Delhi then held by the Jats under Bala Jat. The latter after some show of fight submitted but the villagers refused to pay the imperial dues. Bala Jat was treacherously murdered on 29 November, 1753. The fort of Ballamgarh was captured and the district was conferred upon Imad. The imperialists assisted by the Marahathas continued to wrest other villages from the Jats and Imad succeeded in securing control of villages on both banks of the Jamuna as far south as Mathura and Agra. The Jats were expelled from Koil and Jalesar also.

The Marahathas

Intizam and the Emperor now opened negotiations with the Marahathas but their chief refused to negotiate with them as the Marahathas were there as allies of Imad. The Emperor appealed to Imad to arrange an interview with Khandoji. A show ceremony was arranged where the Marahatha chief's behaviour was insolent but the Emperor put up with it being absolutely helpless.

While the civil war was going on, the Marahathas had moved into Jaipur and succeeded in realizing twelve lakhs from Jaipur

and several smaller states against their elaim to *chauth*. They next turned towards the Jats and invested the forts of Dig, Bharatpur and Kandhar Kumbher on 16 January, 1754. Desultory warfare continued for four months, but the Jats fearing further resistance impossible agreed to pay 30 lakhs as tribute in three years and 2 crores to Imad who had joined the Jats, as *Peshkash* from the Jat Rajah.

Imad-ul-Mulk

Conflict now began between the Emperor and Imad-ul-Mulk over the question of paying the army. Failing to get anything out of the already depleted treasury, Imad took possession of Koil and Sikandarabad, the Emperor's estates, and plundered Rewari. Even Delhi did not escape from the organized depredations of Aqibat Khan. Intizam-ud-Daulah now realised that the only way of saving the royal prestige and pushing the Marahathas back to the south was to effect an alliance with Surajmal, the Rajput chiefs and Safdar Jang. This scheme if properly worked out would have saved the Emperor and contained the rising power of Imad. But the timidity and indecision of the Emperor, the refusal of the Queen-mother to have anything to do with Safdar and Intizam's indolence doomed the grand counter-offensive against Imad to failure. The Emperor against his wishes was persuaded to march to Sikanderabad where his allies were to meet him, The royal camp was surprised by the Marahathas. The imperial household fled in panic to Delhi but the ladies of the haram were captured and taken prisoners to Mathura while the Emperor, to his standing disgrace made no attempt to rescue them. "Only the royal jewellery had been brought away in safety, all other kinds of property, both of the state and of individuals, as well as all the artillery stores, treasure (some lakhs in gold and silver coins), tents, etc, fell into the enemy's hands. But the greatest loss was that of the honour of the imperial family; queens and princesses were held in captivity by the rude spoilers from the south. Such a calamity had never before fallen on the house of Timur and lowered the head of every one in Delhi."

Malhar Rao Holkar now made certain demands from the Emperor but the demands could not be met with. The Marahathas crossed the Jamuna and began systematically to plunder the suburbs so that "the suburbs became totatlly ruined and desolate

like the homes of the dead from the hands of these unclean people." On June 1, 1754, the Emperor was forced to appoint Imad as *wazir* and Roz-Afzun Khan as superintendent of the Privy Council. Intizam was imprisoned later and killed and his body thrown into the Jamuna. A day after Muhammad Aziz-ud-Daulah, the grandson of Bahadur Shah, was proclamed as Emperor Alamgir II. Ahmad Shah and his mother were put in prison and blinded. The ulema signed a *fatwa* for the deposition of Ahmad Shah thus putting the seal of legality on an act of shameless aggression and breach of faith. Zakaullah compares the latter Mughuls to idols made of stone which may be worshipped or broken into pieces and trampled under foot.[12]

Section II : Aziz-ud-din Alamgir II 1754-1759

Alamgir II, the son of Jahandar Shah, was sixtyeight [13] years of age when he came to the throne and fifty-six according to Tawarikh-i-Alamgir II. [14] Since the death of his father, he had lived in the *deorhi-i-Salatin* [15] in indigence and neglect. He had devoted himself to study and meditation but had been denied any part in civil or military matters. On his accession, he tried to emulate Alamgir I without the latter's intellectual gifts or civil and military training or experience. He in his old age was not above satisfying his lust for women which had been suppressed during his youth. He tried unsuccessfuly to marry Hazrat Begum, 16 year old daughter of Muhammad Shah. In 1758, he married Zinat-un-Nisa Begum "though his own health was so broken that he had fainting fits."

Jean Law wrote of him : "I have not seen in his conduct anything but much deception and cruelty that revolts. He has almost always a rosary in his hand, but his devotion is nothing but hypocrisy. He caused to be inhumanly massacred those in whom he appeared to have the greatest confidence and to whom he was actually indebted for his elevation." [16]

Imad was now the chief power at the court and with his 12,000 Badakhshani soldiers, "the best fighting force in the empire in that age", and the support of the Marahathas he could have restored law and order at least in the neighbouring provinces, but his pride and selfishness, as well as his perfidy and cruelty, made him more enemies than friends. Intizam-ud-Daulah, Shujah-ud-Daulah and Suraj

Mal had their own grievances against him and the humiliations he had to suffer in order to retain power may be judged from the fact that he was dragged through the streets of Panipat by his own soldiers in May 1755 and his women insulted and dishonoured by the Rohillas in August 1757.

The immediate problem with which Imad was faced was the tapping of new sources of income for the maintenance of the administration and payment of the arrears of salary of the large army that had been raised during the civil war and the subsidiary promised to the Marahathas for the military assistance received from them. In 1755 he succeeded in persuading his Marahatha allies to leave Delhi for the south. Constantly harassed by the creeping fear of a palace revolution to overthrow him and his military ventures to secure money and allies led him into greater difficulties. His attempt to reconquer the country north of Delhi, the expedition of the royal princes to restore imperial authority in the Doab and Rohtak-Mewat region, his intrigues in the Punjab which made him incur the anger of Shah Abdali and his hostlity to Prince Ali Gauhar made him extremely unpopular.

The Marahathas reappeared in the north in 1758. In January 1759 they appeared before Delhi demanding a heavy ransom. They established their rule over Lahore in April-June, besieged Najib in Shukartal and spread a reign of terror in the Doab. In desperation Imad had Alamgir murdered treacherously on 29 November, 1759. Muhi-us-Sunnat, son of Kam Bakhsh, was raised to the throne under the title of Shahjahan III. He continued as a puppet king from 30 November, 1759 to 10 October 1760.

Section III : Abul Muzaffar Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah Alam II: 1760-1806

Mirza Abdullah, better known as Prince Ali Gauhar,[18] the eldest son of Emperor Alamgir II, was thirty years of age when his father was assassinated.[19] He had been in virtual captivity along with his father till the age of twenty-five. After the accession of his father he received the title of Ali Gauhar on 16 August, 1754 and that of Shah Alam on 24 April, 1756. He was intelligent, self-controlled, well-educated, studious, inquisitive and free from sloth and vice. According to Jean Law, "the Shahzada passed for one of those who have had the best education and who have

most profited by it. This education consists particularly in the knowledge of religion and of the oriental tongues, of history, and the writing of one's academic exercises well. In effect, all that I could perceive decided in his favour. He is familiar with Arabic, Persian, Turki and Hindustani languages. He loves reading and never passes a day without employing some hours in it...He is of an inquiring mind, naturally gay and free in his private society, where he frequently admits his principal military officers in whom he had confidence., [20]

In February 1757, Abdali had appointed him Chancellor of the Empire but as he "had been given no territory for his maintenance and hence he had no money and no troops, he got no control over the administration and could effect no improvement in the collection of revenue or the transaction of public business."[21] He was soon replaced by Imad. The Prince now tried to collect revenue from Jhajjhar held by Hasan Ali Khan, and Kaliana, then held by the sons and widow of a deceased Hindu employee of the Mughuls. He secured their submission and the jagirdars promised to pay tribute to the Prince. He was less successful in Hansi and Kanaud and his ill disciplined troops who had started plundering the countryside raised a storm of oppositon to him. He was at the instance of Imad recalled to the capital by his father. On his return march, he enlisted the support of the Marahathas but refused to return to the court. Profuse professions of loyalty made Ali Gauhar enter the city, For his personal safety he decided to stay in Ali Mardan Khan's mansion with his 2000 armed retainers The wily Imad succeeded in detaching Vithal Shivdev from the Prince and five days after Prince Ali Gauhar was attacked by Imad's troops. The Prince after a spirited fight cut his way through Imad's soldiers. He fonnd his way to Vithal's camp who beat back the pursuers and made Imad return the effects of the Prince plundered by Imad's soldiers. Vithal succeeded in receiving 6 lakhs from Imad whjch the latter had promised to pay the Marahatha. Prince Ali Gauhar was proclaimed a rebel and spent several months in the districts round Delhi levying tribute from the petty chiefs plundering the countryside. Vithal was recalled by Raghunath and the Prince losing his protection wandered about for some days and ultimately reached Jansath where the Barha Sayyids welcomed

him. He was received by Najib Khan on 20 August with all courtesy but Najib refused him politely any military assistance and advised him to go to Shuja-ud-Daulah. He reached Lucknow on 19 January 1758 and was given a royal welcome by Shuja-ud-Daulah who besides supplying the necessary equipment gave a present of one lakh rupees. He stayed with him for a week and then moved to Allahabad on the invitation of its governor, Muhammad Quli Khan, the first cousin of Shuja, who offered to support him in his attempt to conquer Bihar. The Prince after staying for sometime at Jhansi, opposite Allahabad, reached Phulwari[22] on 18 March. The deputy Governor of Bihar, Raja Ram Narain, appealed to the English at Calcutta for help and Clive after some hesitation assured the Raja of assistance. Imad now made the Emperor denounce the Prince as a rebel and appoint Hidayat Bukhsh as *subahdar* of Bihar. Ram Narain, waiting for English help in order to gain time, honoured the Prince by waiting on him, making presents and even promising to pay tribute. When he was assured of English help he shut the city gates and prepared for a siege. The Prince tried to capture Patna by storm but the besiegers were beaten back. The Prince evacuated Bihar and went to Rewa at the invitation of its Raja for the rainy season.

Shah Alam again entered South Bihar and while encamped at Khotaub[23] he heard the news of the death of his father. He immediately proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Shah Alam on 24 December, 1959. He appointed Shuja-ud-Daulah as his wazir, Najib-ud-Daulah as Mir Bakhshi and Moin-ud-Daulah as his agent to the court of Shah Abdali. His son, Prince Jawan Bakht, was put on the throne at Delhi in 1760.

Shah Alam led two expeditions into Bihar in 1759 and 1760 but made little headway because of the superior forces of Ram Narain, the English, and Mir Jaffer. He was utterly defeated in his third attempt in January 1761 and now made overtures to the English for a settlement. He met the English commander Carnac at Gaya on 9 February and the latter, anxious to placate the Shah, received him with all honour and escorted him into Patna where he set up his court. He was later joind by Nawab Qasim Ali Khan who paid 24 lakhs as tribute and sought imperial confirmation as the

Nawab of Bengal, to which office he had been raised on 20 October 1760. The English settled an allowance of Rs. 1800 a day on the Shah "in return for confirming their political arrangement in Bengal and Bihar."

In the meantime Ahmad Shah Abdali's campaign around Delhi and the defeat of the Marahathas at Panipat in 1761 had changed the political scene. He was nominated as Emperor by Ahmad Shah Abdali and invited to return to his capital. Shah Alam left Patna in May 1761 and was escorted to Allahabad by Shuja-ud-Daulah. During 1762-1763 he was occupied in reconquering Bundhelkhand. He returned to Allahabad in 1763 as the mutual dissensions between Shuja, Ahmad Khan Bangash and the Rohilla Chiefs—Rahmat Khan, Dundey Khan and Najib— made an immediate concerted march to Delhi practically impossible.

Early in 1764 Nawab Qasim Ali Khan deposed by the English, presented himself before the Emperor and sought his help and that of Shuja. The invasion of Bihar ended in the defeat of the confederates at the battle of Buxar on 23 October 1764.[24] The Shah completely broken and humiliated returned to Allahabad and threw himself at the mercy of the English. Clive, who had by this time returned to India, concluded with Shuja and the Emperor the treaty of Allahabad on 16 August 1765. By this treaty the English tightened their hold on Shuja and the Emperor. The dominions of Shuja were restored to him with the exception of Chunar, Kora and Allahabad yielding a revenue of 48 lakh rupees which were conferred on the Emperor. The zamindari of Benares and Ghazipur was reserved for Raja Balwant Sing under British protection. The Shah was assigned 26 lakhs per annum in lieu of the Bengal tribute. On 12 August by a royal firman supplemented on the 19th, Shah Alam granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company confirming the English in all the possessions held by them in Mughul territory. The battle of Buxar and the treaty of Allahabad set the seal on British gains after the battle of Plassey. The Emperor became the pensioner of the British and Shuja their vassal. In 1766 Clive entered into a formal agreement at Chapra with the Shah, Shuja, the Jat Raja, and the Rohilla chiefs "for mutual defence against any Marahatha aggression." The battle of Buxar and the subsequent treaties

"riveted the shackles of Company's rule upon Bengal." Awadh was now at the mercy of the English who utilized it "as a bulwark against the incursions of the Marahathas or of the Afghans."

Section IV : MUGHUL EMPIRE 1759–1771

After his defeat by the imperial army at Manupore in 1747 Ahmad Shah stayed away from India till 1750. Between 1750–1759 Ahmad Shah invaded the Punjab four times and in the fifth invasion in October 1759 he finally conquered the Punjab, and this brought him in conflict with the Marahathas.

In 1756 a large Marahatha army was sent to the north to assert Marahatha supremacy in the Doab. With the help of the Jats and the connivance of Delhi Government they attacked the capital in August 1757, and forced Najib-ud-Daulah to surrender. His rival Imad was established in Delhi. The Marahathas then proceeded to wrest the Punjab from Timur Shah whom his father Abdali had left in Lahore. Sirhind was captured in March and Lahore in April 1758. Adina Beg was installed as Governor on behalf of the Marahathas in Lahore. Adina Beg died on 13 October 1758 and the whole of the Punjab fell into anarchy. In 1759 Balaji Sindhia was sent to re-establish Marahatha authority. The Durranis soon after recovered the Punjab by the end of November 1759. Ahmad Shah then marched towards Delhi.

Datta crossed the Jumna near Kunjpura on the 18th of December and proceeded against the army of Jehan Khan who was leading the van of the army of the Shah. The Marahathas encountered the Afghans on 24 December and were defeated,this defeat being the beginning of the end of Marahatha dominance in the north for several years to come. Najib-ud-Daulah now went to meet the Shah whom he met near Meerut and was honoured with a *Khilat* and an Arab horse. The Shah then advanced towards Delhi and encamped at Anupshahr. Datta fell back on the capital and reached Bararighat on 4 January 1760. On 19 January he was forced to give battle, and the courageous but rash Marahatha general fell on the battlefield. The Marahatha power in the north collapsed for the time being and Malhar who had so far kept in the background, fearing to fight in the open, took to guerilla warfare in the country of the Rohillas. He

finally came to Sikandra while the Shah's forces were in hot pursuit of his armies. Najib-ud-Daulah and Jehan Khan found their way to Malhar's rear and defeated his army. Malhar fled away to Agra. In despair Keshav Rau wrote from Jhansi, "...In short the Abdali and the Rohillas have all joined together. They have a large army and enormous quantities of artillery and ammunition. It is not possible to fight with them properly. Malhar has made efforts to harrass them but the Abdali and the Rohillas are not like the Indian Mughuls. They are ferocious people and great adepts in *racing* and fighting." A belated appreciation of the enemy's strength cost the Marahathas a national catastrophe a year after. Abdali retired to Koil for the rainy season while the Marahathas anxiously waited for the arrival of reinforcements from the south to repair their shattered fortunes. The stage for the fateful battle of Panipat was set.

THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT

It was at this time that afraid of the rising power of the Marahathas in northern India and the reported design of the Marahathas to invade the Rohilla territory, Najib-ud-Daulah and other Muslim nobles wrote to Ahmad Shah to save the Empire and Muslim religion from the onslaught of the Marahathas. The invitation, if any, is reported to have been extended by Najib-ud-Daulah,[25] Shah Waliullah,[29] Shuja-ud-Daulah[27] and by other Muslim chiefs whose names have been mentioned.[28]

When Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India in 1759, his main object was the punishment of the Marahathas who had occupied the Punjab and to relieve Najib-ud-Daulah who was in sore straits having been closely beseiged by the Marahathas at Sukkartal. Abdali had accomplished these objects. The Marahathas were driven away from the Punjab, and defeated with great slaughter at Barari Ghat ; Dattaji had been forced to raise the seige and later was killed in a battle. Malhar Rao's forces had been routed at Sikandrah. This would have satisfied him and ordinarily he would have returned to Qandhar. Najib-ud-Daulah, however realising that the Marahathas, though defeated, had not been crushed, feared that as soon as Abdali withdrew his forces from India they would reappear and destroy him. He, therefore, exerted his influence over Abdali and by his persuasive eloquence in the teeth of the opposition of Shah's wazir and other officers, suc-

ceeded in making the Shah stay on in India and settle the affairs of the Marahathas once for all.

Shuja-ud-Daulah was undecided as to whether it would better serve his interests if he joined the proposed league, or if he joined the Marahathas. Najib-ud-Daula was sent to bring Shuja to the Abdali's camp and succeeded in winning him over.

Shuja-ud-Daulah had been approached by Bhao, the Marahatha leader, but his demands were so unreasonable and promises so shifty, that Shuja could not rely on the Marahathas. His reply to Bhao's envoy as recorded by the author of Seirul Mutakhirin gives an indication of the fears of Shuja. "Shuja-ud-Daulah at last answered the envoy (sent to him by Bhao) in these terms : 'The Marahathas and especially their Brahmans, having acquired so much power in the Deccan, had become overbearing and withal so covetous, that they could not bear that any one but themselves should enjoy any power in the world, or a small piece of land sufficient for his subsistance; their faithlessness and eternal disregard of treaties had tired the patience of mankind ; and the time was now come to punish them for their eternal injustices, and their daily violations of the most sacred ties amongst men. It was to save their honour, their families, and their means of livelihood that the people of Hindustan had applied to Shah Abdali for protection and assistance, and that the latter had come for that sole purpose and in full hope of inflicting condign punishment upon the Marahathas. To talk, therefore, of peace now appeared to him quite preposterous."[30]

Even after Shujah had decided to join the Shah he exerted his influence to bring about a truce and avert war. The grand wazir and several other Indian chiefs were of the same mind, but Najib was adamant and advised the Shah against any peace overtures with the Marahathas.

The Shah accepted his advice, "You speak the truth : I approve of your counsil, and will not listen to any advice in opposition to it. Shuja-ud-Daulah is young and inexperienced, and the Marahathas are a crafty race, on whose pretended penitence no reliance is to be placed. I, from the beginning, made you the controller of the undertaking; act as seems best to yourself. Situated as I am, I must hear everyone, but I will not do anything against your advice." Najib-ud-

Daulah was pleased and flattered by the words of the Shah. "I am the bridegroom of this battlefield," said he. "Everything rests on my head: the others are mere guests accompanying the marriage procession. What is done here will be done by me and to me."

Abdali moved in the middle of 1760 to Shahdara near Delhi so that the river Jumna separated the two armies. The Marahatha chief Sadashib Rao commonly known as Bhao struck the first blow by outflanking the Muslim army and capturing the Afghan outpost. Ahmad Shah moved on and crossed the river Jumna at Bhaghpat between 25 and 26 of October 1760. On the 26th the Afghan vanguard met the Marahathas at Sambulka and drove back the enemy which now stationed itself at the historic battlefield of Panipat. The Shah took up his position four miles to the south of the Jumna. Skirmishes continued for two montths and the Shah was requested by his allies to end the suspense by bringing on decisive action. But the Shah bided his own time and contented himself by creating almost a blockade of the Marahatha camp. Discouraged by the earlier reverses the Bhao wanted to negotiate a settlement but Najib turned down all such proposals. Despairing of any peaceful settlement Bhao wrote to his agent. "The cup is full to the brim and cannot hold another drop." On 6th January 1761 the Marahathas decided to go out and fight the Shah. The latter was resting when the news was brought to him. The Marahathas opened cannon fire in the early hours of the morning. Ahmad Shah was not expecting this but with his usual composure made his dispositions for a general engagement when the light of day came. A Muslim officer, Ibrahim Gardi, was in command of the artillery of the Marahathas. Trained by French officers he used his artillery with deadly effect. Till noon the fortune of the day was inclined towards the Marahathas. The Shah now directed himself the movements of the army. The Muslims began pushing on at 1 p.m. Such was the fierceness of the charge that all resistance ceased by 3 p.m. and the Hindu soldiers all at once became helpless victims of butchery. Forty thousand were taken prisoners and the number of dead was beyond count. It was a complete victory for the forces of Islam. The battle of Panipat so celebrated in history (January 14, 1761) crippled the power of the Marahathas without destroying it and within

10 years they were back again threatening the Muslim powers whom fear of a common enemy had united but who fell apart soon after the immediate purpose was achieved. The Shah returned home, appointed Imad-ul-Mulk as *wazir* and Najib as *Bakhshi* leaving the Mughuls to fend for themselves. Shuja in high dudgeon returned to Lucknow and the struggle for power amongst different factions was resumed. The battle of Panipat had negative results. The only party that indirectly benefited by the battle were the English who could now deal with the rival powers and extend and capitalise on their victory at Plassey in 1757. Few other events, except perhaps the exploits of Mahmud of Ghazni, were looked back upon with pride as the victory at Panipat. "Even at this distance of time," writes Rawlinson, "the pulses leap as we read of the Abdali, reflectively pulling at his hukka as he watches the long lines of the Marahathas deploying for action in the dim winter dawn, the wazir (Shah Wali) in full armour, rallying his men with the cry, 'our country is far off my friends, whither do you fly ?' The choking dust; the combatants rolling on the ground, locked in a deadly embrace; the cries of Din ! Din! Har Har Mahadev and lastly the dramatic annihilation of one of the most splendid and gallant armies that ever took field."

Ahmad Shah struck coins at Delhi after the battle of Panipat. Earlier when he was stationed at Anupshahr Ahmad Shah had written to Prince Ali Gauhar to return to Delhi and occupy the throne. The Prince replied that he would return after he had conquered Bihar and Bengal. After the victory Nawab Zinat Mahal wrote to her son to return to Delhi as his position in Delhi would be untroubled if he returned after the departure of the Shah. She concluded her letter by remarking, "My son, if you find anything in those parts worthy of your choice, wash your hands of this place."[29] Ahmad Shah had this time acted as the liberator of the Empire. By his approval coins were struck in Delhi in the name of Shah Alam and later in Bengal. Ahmad Shah was for all practical purposes de facto ruler of the Mughul Empire. When asked on his return to dig a wall round the city of Qandhar he would reply "the ditch of Delhi was that of Ahmad Shah. (Qandhar)."

NAJIB - UD - DAULAH DICTATOR AT DELHI

Ahmad Shah Abdali before his retirement sent the pen-case of

wizarat to Imad at Mathura. This he did, probably, because he realized with extraordinary insight and political shrewdness, that neither Shuja-ud-Daulah nor Najib would be acceptable to the princes of India—the former because of his being a Shia and his lukewarmness in the last conflict, and the latter because all the important personages were jealous of him and would render him no co-operation. Further, Najib could not be a pliant tool in his hands. According to Sarkar, Abdali was anxious to leave behind him "an agreed peace" among all the powers of India and get his tribute punctually year after year. His real object in making Imad the wazir and Najib the Bakhshi, was to divide the leading men and thus have the upper hand in Indian politics. But Najib, ever realistic, well understood his position and in spite of his being passed over, his relations with Abdali remained cordial throughout, and the mutual esteem and respect continued without any serious estrangement.

Imad lost valuable time in coming to Delhi and Najib wormed himself into the favour of Prince Jawan Bakht and the Queen Mother, both of whom placed themselves and their interests unreservedly in his hands. His position, therefore, became unassailable. In February 1762, the Shah again arrived in India and stayed till 12 December. Najib-ud-Daulah visited him twice and as Imad had failed to take over the office, Shuja-ud-Daulah was appointed the *wazir*.

The battle of Panipat created new problems for Najib-ud-Daulah. He was relieved of the immediate fear of the Marahathas who had regarded him as their worst enemy. This dislike and fear was mutual. Shah Alam II was still a fugitive. Timid and unenterprising by nature, he had not the strength of will to return to Delhi and assume power. Suraj Mal, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, had come out unscathed from the struggle, and with Imad-ud-Mulk living on his bounty at Bharatpur, he dreamt of exercising supreme power in Delhi with Imad as wazir there. Shuja-ud-Daulah who had been drawn into the struggle against his will retired in high dudgeon to his subah. The Sikhs gained further strength in the Punjab as the administraiton there had completely broken down, and they could with impunity go about plundering the country, raise troops and build forts. From 1761 to his death Najib was all powerful at the capital.

The Jats

Najib was forced into a struggle with the Jats. Suraj Mal had

hoped to exercise supreme power at Delhi if Imad had been restored to power. He had failed in that object, and instead of Imad he found Najib at the helm of affairs at the capital, a man whom he could neither coax nor coerce into playing his game. Najib's claim over the allegiance of the Baluchis of Farrukhnagar and the Mewatis of that territory became the cause of conflict between the two. Suraj Mal captured Farrukhnagar in 1763. Najib tried his utmost to maintain amicable relations with the Jat Raja, but the latter flushed with recent successes and proud of his wealth and army refused any compromise. Suraj Mal was defeated in the battle of Hindan on 25 December 1763 and killed. After the death of Suraj Mal, Jawahar Singh continued the fight and invited the help of the Marahathas and the Sikhs. The first played false to him and the latter, inclined more to plunder than to regular warfare, had later to be escorted out of the Jat territory by Jawahar Singh. The latter now prepared to fight Najib-ud-Daulah and attack Delhi. Najib advised him to give up this design but Jawahar Singh refused to come to terms with him. He led his army against Delhi early in November 1764. The city of Delhi was bombarded and the countryside plundered. Failing to capture the city, Jawahar had to conclude peace and marched away on 16 February, having spent 160 lakhs in this fruitless venture.

Relieved of the fear of Jat incursions into his territories, Najib now set about establishing his authority over the districts around Delhi. The petty zamindars had become refractory and withheld the payment of revenue. The Jats of Hariana were the most turbulant. Najib tried at first to parley and make the zamindars pay the arrears but failing in this he stormed the village of Buana and succeeded in making his authority acknowledged. He next turned his attention to Hisar and Rohtak districts and by his firmness and punitive measures restored law and order there.

THE SIKHS

Early in March 1763 some 40,000 Sikhs crossed the Jumna and took Saharanpur. They retired in 1764 when the rumour of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali reached them. In December 1764, the Sikhs sacked Barah Sadat settlement and Chatrowal colony of Meeranpore. This irruption occurred when Najib-ud-Daulah was shut up in Delhi. In 1776, the Sikhs crossed the Jumna and in May sacked Umbetah.

This was followed by the sack of Nanoutah. They then turned to Barah Sadat and passed on to Meerut. The Shah who had come to the Punjab supplied reinforcements to Zabita Khan, and the Sikhs were overtaken and routed between Shamli and Kairana. They retired across the Jumna but the "tide ebbed only to flow with greater violence in a few months."

In December, 1767, the Sikhs invaded the Doab and came as far as Nanoutah. Najib-ud-Daulah had marched to Kandhla and then proceeded to the north of Muzaffarnagar. The Sikhs were beaten and driven northward from Nanoutah to Islamnagar and finally after defeat retired by way of Rajghat. "This was," says Williams, "his last triumph. Fortune proved untrue to him in his old age, and henceforth raids from the Punjab became so frequent that no count could be possibly kept of their numbers."

The effects of the defeat of the Sikhs were neutralised by the encouragement they received from Shah Alam in exile.

THE MARAHATHAS

The Marahathas appeared in Northern India again in 1770. Najib, who had retired from public life, cmae out again and realising that he could not fight against them and could no longer depend on foreign assistance, allied himself with the Marahathas hoping through them to secure the return of Shah Alam to his capital. His Afghan compatriots misinterpreted his diplomacy and severely rated him for having joined the "infidels" against his own kinsmen. Najib was not a traitor to the Afghans but a realist. He knew the futility of resistance and wanted diplomatic means to secure an agreed peace and avert disaster which a war against the Marahathas unaided by foreign assistance, he feared would result. His malady took a serious turn and he died on 31st October 1770. "His last act", says Sarkar, "was to issue an order to his troops not to molest or rob, the pilgrims who had assembled for the Ganges fair at Garhmukteshwar close by his camp."

ESTIMATE OF NAJIB-UD-DAULAH

"A mediocre ability which never deviates from the pursuit of a single aim may go farther in politics than a wayward genius which is master of everything except its own caprice."

Najib-ud-Daulah was not a mediocre, but his most distinguishing trait of character was his singleness of purpose and the grim courage with which he pursued his object. He had come to India without experience, without any material resources, unaccompanied by a single friend. We know very little of his early life, but the man early revealed himself when he boldly, against the wishes of his superiors, accepted the invitation to go to Delhi to help the Emperor. After having quietly listened to the arguments of his elders, arguments dictated by timidity and self-interest, he retired and sat under a tree to think before he took his fateful decision to go to Delhi. There must have been a mental conflict and a restless oscillation between duty and power. He decided that his destiny lay in Delhi and it was in Delhi where fortunes were made or marred. "A political primitive" he stepped abruptly into the arena without previous experience or training. Immense moral courage and the hunger for doing well and make a name for himself, the will to power and the awareness of superior faculties, account for that decision which forms the turning point in his career.

Once he was in Delhi he entered the politics of the Empire with full zest. He loved the exhiliration of battle, but not for battle's sake. It was the only solace which restless spirits had in those inclement times, a blissful drunkenness in which the war weary spirits wrapped themselves. From his entry into the maelstorm of Delhi politics his life is one ceaseless round of pitiless endeavour against suffering and tribulations, and as time passed on we find him gaining clarity of vision and a certainty of the direction in which his destiny lay. He had come to Delhi to serve the Emperor and hoped by his devoted service to stabilize the government of the Mughuls. Throughout his whole life this hope burned as a lively torch in the political gloom and burned long till it was extinguished by death. How his life would have shaped itself in more peaceful times, it is difficult to say. In any country, amongst any people and in any sphere of life he would have made a mark for himself. Hard pressed by the rapid tempo of his age be became a hardened soldier, an astute diplomat and a shrewd statesman. The mounting chaos of politics put his innate qualities to test and he was not found wanting.

He had at first thrown in his lot with Imad, but he made the first

mistake of his life in selecting a patron who proved himself later a sneaking traitor and regicide. Najib resented the arid pretentions of Imad and his unscrupulous way of dealing with friends and foes. Crystalinely practical and pure in his intentions, he had to sever his connections with Imad, for whereas Imad was working feverishly to give the coup de grace to the Mughul dynasty, Najib was anxious to prolong its decrepit existence. Disloyalty to the royal family he abhorred, and he never lent himself to any person or party intending to lower the prestige of the imperial family.

Surrounded by traitorous allies and ferocious enemies, without any material resources, without the magic of a family name, this lonely Afghan carved his way up by his sterling integrity, purity of intentions, uprightness of character and rocklike strength of purpose and independence of character. Faith and energy were the fundamental traits of this simple but determined man. He was a man who would not barter his principles for a momentary advantage. What he considered right was worth fighting for, and no price or sacrifice was too great for defence of what was right according to his lights. When Malhar Rao told him that it was in his interest to desist from cow slaughter in his camp as only then could he appease Raghu Nath Rao who was bent on his destruction, Najib fearlessly replied : "This is a religious matter and I will never abandon it."

When he ran short of money during the siege of Delhi he was advised to raise funds by forced loans. Najib scornfully rejected the advice as this would not behove one who stood in the position of a king towards his subjects. A deeply religious man, he completely resigned himself to the will of God in all his undertakings but this did not make him a fatalist. Najib had throughout his life to contend for his very existence against non-Muslim chiefs, but this left no bitterness against his Hindu subjects or friends. Innately just, he never persecuted people for their opinions and never stretched the hand of aggression against the weak and the helpless. Hard at times, he was generally very accommodating and conciliatory, and always preferred to resolve differences by negotiations rather than resort to war. Extremely realistic, with a keen sense of cold facts and a penetrating insight into the nature of things, he never allowed his ambition or successes to run riot with him. No man of his time was

so humble yet dignified, so mild yet firm, so kind and generous yet severe to delinquents as Najib was.

It is a pity that we do not know much about his private life but he was an affectionate father and a faithful husband. In an age when the upper classes were addicted to all sorts of vices, Najib led a life of spotless purity and character and the breath of scandal did not cast its dark shadow on his private life. The best evidence of this is the esteem and affection in which Najib was held by the greatest Muslim divine of the time, Hazrat Shah Waliullah, a man uncompromising in matters of right and wrong, who invariably addressed him as "Rais-ul-Mujahidin and Rais-ul-Ghuzwat."

"The death of Najib Khan was lamented by the people," writes Foster, "whom he governed and his memory at this day is respected and beloved throughout the upper parts of India. He supported the character of a gallant soldier; he encouraged agriculture, and protected commerce, and he was considered as the only remaining chief of the Empire capable of opposing any barrier to the inroads of the Marahatha and Sicque nations."[31]

Shah Alam stayed on in Allahabad as pensioner of the English for nearly seven years but personally secure and financially well provided for. As early as 26 May 1761 the English had promised to escort him to Delhi. This promise, repeated again and again, was not fulfilled. Ahmad Shah Abdali and Najib had also asked the Emperor to come to Delhi in October 1765. By 1768 Najib was broken in health and spirits and his death was likely to create a political void in Delhi. Return to Delhi by the Emperor became urgent for political and dynastic reasons. The English, the Jats, the Rohillas and Shuja were indifferent or unhappy about the Emperor's natural desire to return to the imperial capital. The Marahathas who had been lying low since their defeat at Panipat had recovered from the effects of the defeat and reappeared in the north to re-establish their authority in the Doab and the country near Delhi. The fear of the Afghan invasions had gradually faded away and the Sikhs who had full control of Sirhind, Hariana and Upper Doab were too much occupied in the Punjab to take advantage of the political void in Delhi. Najib who had been for nearly ten years the dictator at Delhi died on 30 October 1770. On 9 February 1771 the Marahathas, with whom Shah Alam had been in negotiations for his restoration at Delhi,

bombarded Delhi and captured it. Zabita Khan, Najib's son, for fear of the Marahathas had left Delhi and retired to his jagir. The Marahathas made over Delhi to the Emperor's heir and quitted the capital on 2 August 1771. Shah Alam left Allahabad on 13 April 1771 and entered Delhi on 6 January 1772[32] on the eve of I'd-ul-Fitr.

CHAPTER V (*Continued*)

SHAH ALAM EMPEROR AT DELHI

Section V

The first day of Shah Alam in Delhi coincided with I'd and there were unusual rejoicings. The hopes of the people of Delhi who for 12 years had suffered poverty and humiliation under the paralysing fear of the Jats, Marahathas and Afghan raids, hailed the restoration of Shah Alam as opening a new era of peace, prosperity and freedom from fear. But Shah Alam had neither the material means nor the will, the determination or political acumen to restore the fallen fortunes of his dynasty. Some of the ablest officers had either been killed or died natural death during the last 20 years. Some had carved out principalities and were too much involved in preserving and consolidating their recent acquisitions. The ranks of those who still served the Empire were honey-combed by personal jealousies and petty feuds. Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk had been tried and failed and was an exile. Shuja-ud-Daulah was engrossed in his own affairs and was an absentee wazir. Munir-ud-Daulah, Saif-ud-Din Muhammad Khan and Husam-ud-Daulah were "mere diplomats but neither soldiers nor administrators."

After Shah Alam's return to Delhi the first two nobles fade out of the picture and Shuja-ud-Daulah's invetrate hatred of the Rohillas and the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad did considerably contribute to further weakening the centre, facilitating the expansion and consolidation of the power of the Marahathas and English domination of northern India. The two leaders who dominate the stage during the years 1772-1782 were Najaf Khan and Abdul Ahad Khan.

MIRZA NAJAF KHAN

Mirza Najaf came of a highly respected family of Iran. Born in 1737, he migrated at an early age with his sister to India. He was employed by Muhammad Quli Khan, the governor of Allahabad fort. After the murder of Muhammad Quli Khan, Najaf, in February 1761, fled to Bengal and took service with Nawab Qasim Ali Khan. After the latter's defeat and deposition he become a free lance in

Bundhelkhand and his services were sought both by the British and Shuja-ud-Daulah. He later joined the British and rendered useful service in the capture of Allahabad on 11 February, 1765. Clive rewarded him by the grant of an annual pension of 2 lakhs. In 1766 he was appointed *faujdar* of Kora. Four years after he was dismissed from service through the machinations of Munir-ud-Daulah. When Shah Alam left for Delhi Najaf was re-employed by him.

Najaf Khan was a capable military officer with a considerable political insight, vision and realism so rare amongst his contemporaries. Brought up in the school of adversity, he had risen to prominence by the hard way and like Haider Ali had carefully observed European military technique which he used in raising and equipping his contingent. Humane, self-controlled, calm when faced with dangers and moderate and considerate towards the fallen enemy, he soon came to be regarded as a capable and efficient officer. Comte de Modave wrote about him thus : "I do not know how to describe the composure of mind and tranquility of Najaf Khan in the midst of these court intrigues directed against him. He was informed about their smallest details, and amused himself by discussing them with his friends. He used to say that these petty contrivances were the resources of the weak."[33] When he died in 1782 he was mourned by all classes of people "regardless of their rank or creed."

On the death of Najib-ud-Daula his son, Zabita Khan, was invested with the office of Mir Bakhshi and the title of Amir-ul-Umara. He was at the same time asked to pay the customary succession fee and settle the accounts of the crown lands and privy purse estates held by his father. Zabita Khan accepted the office but insolently refused to comply with other demands.

On the advice of the Marahathas Shah Alam sent an army under Najaf Khan with Marahatha troops to bring Zabita Khan to submission in January 1772. The latter transferred his treasures and families to Pathargarh and himself with his army came out to face the imperialists across the Ganges. The Marahathas crossed the river at Chandighat, surprised the Afghans who had left their post undefended and with the support of his artillery Najaf Khan routed the Afghans. It was a great day for Najaf as the victory was ascribed to his valour and leadership. When he presented himself before the Emperor the latter "showered favours on him and stretching his own ebard with

both hands towards Najaf Khan, and cried out, 'You have saved my honour." Zabita Khan's appeal to Faizullah met with no response. He fled to Tarai where Rahmat Khan and Dundey Khan had already preceded him. Zabita Khan took shelter in Shukartal. Pathargarh, one mile east of Najibabad, capitulated. Najib-ud-Daulah's tomb was desecrated and Pathargarh was systematically plundered. The imperialists and the Marahathas quarrelled about the division of the booty and the redistribution of Zabita Khan's jagir lands. The latter fled to Shuja for help and through his intercession the Marahathas agreed to quit Rohilkhand in return for a war contribution of forty lakhs of rupees from Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dundey Khan, Shuja standing security for the payment of this amount of money by the Rohillas. Zabita Khan got back his family estates in Najibabad and Saharanpur and secured the release of his family by a separate peace treaty. The Marahathas, however, failed to get their indemnity and this led to futher complications. The Marahathas afraid of the growing influence of Najaf Khan backed Zabita Khan as a counterpoise to Najaf Khan. Shah Alam refused to agree to the Marahatha proposal and began to prepare against a possible Marahatha attack on Delhi. By clever diplomacy he made Madec, a free lance in the service of the Jat Rajah, to defect and join him in Delhi. Madec entered Delhi on 15 November, 1772 and in his Memoirs he makes the following observation : "The third day (17th November 1772) I went to the Emperor's audience ... in the same order in which I have made my entry into the city... I can say without ostentation that my entry into Delhi had the air of a triumph and that I entrered there more like a monarch than a private person...The Emperor invested me with a robe of very rich cloth of gold with all the ornaments, namely a girdle, a turban and an aigrette set with precious stones...In considering the state of grandeur in which I found myself...I could hardly believe that it was not a dream."[34]

The Marahathas who were operating against Nawil Singh decided to attack Delhi. The councillors of Shah Alam were divided as to the course of action. Najaf Khan's advice to fight it out was accepted. After desultory skirmishes the fateful battle of Purana Qila on 17 December once again exposed the weakness and utter lack of sense of responsibility of the Mughul officers. According to Madec Husam-ud-Din, anxious more to ruin Najaf Khan than fight

for the Emperor did "not advance one step either to reinforce Najaf Khan or help Madec." The Marahathas entered the city and gave it up to plunder. The Emperor had no alternative but open peace parleys. By the new treaty the Marahathas succeeded in obtaining an order for the appointment of Zabita Khan as Mir Bakhshi, restoration of his paternal jagirs, dismissal of Madec's battalions and the Mughul troops, the restoration to the Jats of their territories and a war indemnity for themselves. Their next demand for the dismissal of Najaf was difficult to carry out. Najaf at first held out against the Marahathas but ultimately agreed to leave Delhi and take service with them and join them in their invasion of Rohilkhand and Shuja's dominions. This invasion proved abortive as the English supported the ruler of Awadh and the Rohillas. The Marahathas raided Rohilkhand but they were too weak and divided to gain a victory. A settlement was made by General Barker between the Marahathas and the Rohillas. Najaf Khan returned to Delhi on 20 May 1773 and Zabita Khan also left the Marahatha camp. Marahatha incursion in Rohilkhand which had spread terror in that region for three years was a complete failure.

The recent events in Delhi and the perfidy of Husam-ud-Daulah led to a revolution at Delhi court. Najaf Khan on his return was received in audience by the Emperor and restored to favour and appointed second Bakhshi in June 1773. On his advice Abdul Ahad Khan was appointed deputy wazir on 22nd May 1773 in place of Husam who was thrown in prison but later released by Najaf. He was given the title of Maj-du-Daulah Bahram Jang.

"Abdul Ahad," writes Sarkar, "was a courtier after the Emperor's heart, with the smooth polish, perfect suavity of temper and false bewitching tongue of a typical Kashmiri Muslim, and he soon grew into the best loved personal friend and private companion of Shah Alam. But he was no soldier, no ruler of men, and his natural weapons of duplicity and covert intrigue broke hopelessly down when coming in contact with the hard facts of life in that troubled and changeful world."[35]

Najaf Khan raised a force of more than 20,000 men. Equipped with this formidable force and well equipped with artillery, he defeated and scattered the Jats and cleared south-east of Delhi of them.

The Jats were dislodged from the forts they had built near Delhi. They were defeated at Kotban, and Barsana was captured with immense booty and "wealth beyond imagination." Sombre[36] deserted the Jats and joined the Mughuls. Rene Madec[37] joined Najaf Khan. Shuja now called upon the Emperor to assist him against the Rohillas by personally marching at the head of the army. Najaf Khan was sent to Shuja to negotiate with the wazir the terms of imperial collaboration, but before anything could be done Shuja had defeated the Rohillas at Miran Katra in April 1774, captured Etawah and was secure in his possessions.

Abdul Ahad Khan now played on the weakness of the Emperor and poisoned his mind against Najaf Khan. The latter fell into disgrace and Zabita Khan's cause was furthered by Abdul Ahad Khan for he himself could not leave Delhi and "Waziran, a professional dancing girl, whom he had married and who was the only solace of his grey beard." In 1775 Najaf ravaged the Jat lands for a second time, defeated them in several battles, captured Kama and Dig in April 1776 and established his authority in the middle Doab by 1776. In January 1777 he was recalled to the court.

Abdul Ahad Khan pushed up the claims of Zabita Khan whom he advised to collect the Rohillas and pit them against Najaf. This the Rohilla leader was unable to do and refused to be a tool in the hands of Abdul Ahad. The latter sent his brother Abul Qasim Khan, much against his wishes, against Zabita Khan in March 1776. Zabita Khan who had secured the support of the Sikhs defeated the imperialists on 11 March 1776 at Amirnagar.[38] Abul Qasim was killed in battle. Ghulam Qadir Khan, the son of Zabita Khan, who was staying at the court, fled from Delhi and joined his father. Negotiations were opened with Zabita Khan to pay the revenue arrears or yield the crown lands held by him. Flushed by his recent success, he insolently refused to comply with the imperial demands. The Emperor divested him of his title and the office of Mir Bakhshi and led an army against Ghausgarh. Najaf Khan was appointed Mir Bakhshi on 17 May 1777. The siege of Ghausgarh was long and wearisome with constant indecisive fighting during which the imperialists were repulsed again and again with heavy losses. The final and better organised assault came on 14 September 1777. Zabita was defeated

and driven away. His fort was captured (23rd September)[39], and his son, Ghulam Qadir, was taken prisoner, along with the entire family of Zabita Khan. It was a great triumph for Shah Alam. The Rohillas in upper Doab were completely crushed. They had suffered heavily in 1774 at the hands of Shuja-ud-Daulah and the English and they fade out of the political scene. The Jats had been reduced to straits by Najaf Khan and by 1777 Shah Alam had recovered some of the power and sources of revenue which his predecessors had lost.

Zabita Khan and his Sikh allies escaping from the battlefield, took refuge in the Sikh settlements in the district of Karnal. Zabita Khan was rendered absolutely destitute and completely dependent on his Sikh friends. To secure their support was his only hope. He went to the length of accepting the Sikh faith and was baptised as Dharam Singh. "To such a depth had fallen the heir of the champion who had held aloft the banner of Islam in Northern India for thirteen years."[40] This period of disgrace, destitution and humiliation ended in September 1778 when Najaf Khan with his political insight and farsighted statesmanship restored the property and family of Zabita Khan to him, married the daughter of Zabita Khan and secured the pardon of the Emperor who gave him a robe of honour and a letter patent for the district of Saharanpur on 30 January 1779.

While Najaf was engaged in the siege of Ghausgarh the Jats again started the old game of raiding the countryside. They were again defeated and rendered powerless for the time being. There was trouble in Alwar and Jaipur but the royal authority was re-asserted. Rao Rajah of Alwar submitted and agreed to pay an indemnity of thirty-three lakhs. Rajah Sawai Pratab Singh offered his homage and paid tribute.

While Najaf Khan was away in Alwar the Sikhs entered Delhi. Ahad Khan cultivated the Sikhs who were encamped at Shalimar garden by welcoming their leader, Sahib Singh, who was granted robes of honour. The Sikhs celebrated the Dasehra festival there and demolished a mosque near Rikabganj to mark their success.

Najaf Khan realising that the Sikh could not be suppressed by force resorted to diplomacy. He detached Zabita Khan from them and sowed the seeds of discord amongst the Sikh chiefs.

Ahad Khan now tried to establish his authority in the Sonepat-

Panipat district and went into Karnal district where he planted Sikh thanas. In all this he was helped by the mutual conflict among the Cis-Sutlaj Sikhs. Amar Singh of Patiala who had at first invited Abdul Ahad Khan fell out with the latter because of his tortuous policy and his unreliability as an ally. Abdul Ahad now attacked Ala Singh who shut himself up in the fort of Patiala, and ultimately forced the imperialists to retreat. Abdul Ahad Khan returned to the capital in 1779 "a bankrupt in finance, a bankrupt in military strength and a bankrupt in prestige." This failure of his military venture cost him his office and his liberty. He was carried away a prisoner from right under the nose of the Emperor's men from the audience hall and kept in the oustody of Najaf's men. Shah Alam now reconciled to the fate of his favourite, appointed Najaf as *wakil-i-mutlaq* on 19 November 1779. The removal of Abdul Ahad Khan brought temporary relief to the much harrassed people of Delhi. According to Tahmasp, "there was now general happiness among all and sundry at the capital. Marriage and rejoicing were seen in every house, buying and selling went on in all quarters of the city, new houses were built or purchased, and all this through the gracious and competent administration of Mirza Najaf Khan. All the chiefs, Turani and Hindustani, were happy, prosperous and exalted."

Najaf Khan had reached the height of his ambition but during the remaining two years of his life he was completely broken in health and proved an absolute failure as a civil administrator. He gave himself to pleasure and the instrument of his degeneration was a woman who was introduced into his wine parties by her husband, Latafat Ali Khan. As a result of his intemperance and sexual orgies his health completely broke down. He was siezed with consumption and died on 6 April, 1782.

During the last year of his life the administration had passed into the hands of Latafat Ali Khan. There was widespread distress in the rural areas as a result of the exploitation of the poor peasants who sometimes rose in revolt and were punished by the armed retainers sent to collect the revenue. The army was in arrears. The Emperor and the princes did not receive their allowances. Even the Emperor and the ladies of the haram had to go without food and the latter even thought of drowning themselves in the Jumna. The Emperor

claimed that he had no second coat in his wardrobe. The merchants and traders refused to give supplies. Nothing was done, as nothing was possible, to relieve the distress of the princes or people. The campaigns against Jaipur and the Sikhs were costly affairs and further deepened the financial crisis.

Mirza Najaf Khan Zulfiqar-ud-Daulah was "the last great Muslim minister" of the Mughuls. He was a great soldier and leader of men but no administrator and left the administration in the hands of his Kashmiri Brahmin Diwans and Muslim officers of average ability. During his time the Shias again came into prominence.

The death of Mirza Jan-i-Janan, if not at his instance, has been attributed to his criminal connivance. He is reported to have at one time thought of expelling Shah Abdul Aziz from Delhi. His life is typical of the military adventurers of the age and reflects the lights and shades of an era of great soldiers, statesmen and scoundrels rubbing shoulders with eminent Muslim divines, saints and men of letters. "But," writes Sarkar, "the historian cannot deny that Najaf Khan was a statesman in his moderation in the hour of victory, his kindliness to the mass of the people, and his unerring sense of the realities of Indian politics. He never yielded to impulse or pique, never lost his temper, never grasped at more than he could win. Above all, he had the true mark of a born leader of men, he could attract and kept to himself very able lieutenants in war, though not in the more exacting pursuits of peace. His last years cast a benign halo over his memory. He gave a respite of peace and plenty to the capital. Hence the universal and sincere mourning at his death and the utter despair which his passing caused to the world of Delhi."[41]

AFRASYAB KHAN

There was political void after Najaf's death. The Emperor too much engrossed in pleasure, was without ambition or energy. Of the four lieutenants of Najaf, Afrasyab his slave, a Hindu convert, had rendered good service under his master. But he was hot tempered, irascible and over-weening. He was despised by his soldiers who were mainly of foreign extraction. On the recommendation of Najaf the

Emperor had appointed him as his successor in office but it was a bad choice. Najaf Quli Khan was a good soldier but a bad general and addicted to opium, wine and women. Mirza Muhammad Shafi, Najaf's nephew's son, was a daring soldier, but inexperienced and rash. Muhammad Beg Hamadani was firm of character, a good general and possessed of diplomatic cunning and address. These four persons dominated the court and camp from 1782-84. They were more absorbed in promoting their own selfish interests and by their intrigues and counter-intrigues further lowered the prestige of the Emperor who was no match for them. This set the stage for the tragic events which led to the blinding of the Emperor and restoration of Marahatha influence in northern India through Mahadaji Sindhia.

Shah Alam, anxious to improve his financial condition, appointed Afrasyab as successor to Najaf Khan in return for a promised peshkash of 5 lakhs of rupees. Afrasyab who had managed the extensive estates of Najaf Khan was reported to have amassed an immense wealth amounting to thirty lakhs of rupees. Mirza Najaf's sister, Khadija Sultana, an ambitious but capable woman, universally respected, looked after Najaf's two daughters, and Najaf's personal belongings, ready cash and jewels. She supported Mirza Shafi whom she intended to give one of her nieces in marriage and thus govern "the state from behind the *parda* through her nominee."

In April 1788 Afrasyab was appointed Mukhtar and Mir Bakhshi with the title of Ashraf-ud-Daulah. His immediate task was to recover the crown lands and unauthorized additions to fiefs by usurpers. The Jat Rajah, Ranjit Singh, had again started ravaging the countryside. His attempt at mobilizing any army to effect his purpose utterly failed for want of funds and his enemies at the court secured an order for the recall of Mirza Shafi who was then engaged against the Sikhs. Afrasyab in panic left his official residence and moved to Abdul Ahad Khan's mansion taking with him Abdul Ahad. A showdown between the supporters of Mirza Shafi and Afrasyab was inevitable. The latter scored a point by making the Emperor restore Abdul Ahad Khan to favour and appoint him to his former posts. On 11 August 1782, street fighting broke out but Shafi by use of force succeeded in securing submission and person of Abdul Ahad Khan and Najaf Quli Khan, the two persons on whom Afrasyab had depended

so much. Mirza Shafi was appointed Mir Bakhshi, but "the new army chief was a rather simple downright man, incapable of suppleness or diplomatic finesse ; his soldierly brusqueness offended the court circle, and the evil was aggravated by his lack of funds."

There was an outcry against Shafi and he fled towards Agra within a month of his appointment. At Koil Muhammad Beg Hamadani joined him. The two marched on Delhi. An attempt to reduce Hamadani from the recent alliance was foiled. Shafi entered Delhi and was restored to his post of Mir Bakhshi. Shafi was then sent to Agra to restore order in that province where he once again restored peace and orderly government. A Sikh excursion into Delhi region forced him to return but as the raiders fled away, Shafi turned to the Jats and captured Bayana and several Jat forts. He next turned to meet Mahadaji Sindhia in order to enter into a pact with him. He had in the meantime quarrelled with Hamadani and Sindhia who now occupied "the highest place among the indigenous powers of North India," could be useful in the conflict which was inevitable.

Shafi met Sindhia in June 1783 and invited him to Delhi to restore "the confused imperial administration." This naturally alarmed Hamadani and through the wily Afrasyab arranged a meeting with Shafi to remove their differences. During the meeting, Shafi, who was not expecting treachery was murdered on 23 September 1783. "Thus perished," writes Sarkar, "in the prime of youth, Mirza Muhammad Shafi, the last fighting army chief of the empire, a victim of the blackest treachery." The situation created by this crime is thus aptly described by the Marahatha envoy, "Muhammad Shafi is dead. All Hindustan is lying bare. No sword for fighting is left in India." Afrasyab was appointed *Mir Bakhshi* when the news of the murder of Mirza Shafi reached the court. Abdul Ahad Khan received new titles and a higher mansab.

Towards the end of the year 1783 the Sikhs raided the Doab in large numbers. Zabita Khan was commissioned to hold the upper Doab against the Sikhs and Afrasyab returned to Delhi. Major Browne who was in the camp of Shafi at the time of latter's murder came to Delhi to enlist the support of the leading nobles against the pro-Marahatha policy at the court and to seek an alliance with the English. He failed in his mission. There was an open rupture bet-

ween Shah Alam and Afrasyab when the latter failed to accompany him to Agra on "a tax collecting mission." Prince Jahandar Shah (Jawan Bakht)[42] fled from Delhi on 14 April 1784 and joined Shuja-ud-Daulah and Warren Hastings.[43] Afrasyab was completely isolated and had Abdul Ahad Khan, whom he suspected of having plotted again him, arrested and imprisoned in Aligarh Fort. Afrasyab now opened negotiations with Mahadaji Sindhia in order to crush his rival Hamadani. The latter had incurred the hostility of all classes of people, princes and peasants alike. A vast army was sent against him and his jagir of Dholpur-Bari was captured, but Afrasyab did not live to benefit or profit from his rival's fall. He was murdered in his own camp on 2 November 1784. Mahadaji Sindhia consulted his officers as to the course of action and the sudden change in political alignments consequent on the death of the Regent. Sindhia's court "had the lowest opinion of the Mughalia and Hindustani Muslims and their Kashmiri underlings, as the most heartless and selfish deceivers in the world." It was decided to continue the fight against Hamadani. He was so reduced to straits that he made an abject submission. These rapid and unexpected changes threw Shah Alam into the arms of Sindhia as his early move to get Abdul Ahad Khan out of captivity had miserably failed. Mahadaji Sindhia received the Emperor with all humility and promised to render him service in reorganising the administration. The party opposed to Sindhia headed by Narayandas and Himmat Bahadur Gosain, prompted by the English was trying to prevent Shah Alam from bringing in Mahdaji Sindhia. Shah Alam ultimately appointed the Peshawa as his deputy and Bakhsi-i-Mumalik with Mahdaji Sindhia as his agent and *wakil* at the Mughul court to perform the functions of these officers.

Mahdaji Sindhia's appointment did not automatically give him the power and the resources to maintain his position, meet the expenses of the royal household and pay his large army. During the following three months he captured Dig and Agra forts (January-March 1785). He next, after long negotiations and show of force, captured Aligarh on 20 November 1785. The next two years kept Sindhia occupied in consolidating his position, in fighting his enemies and the expensive and unsuccessful campaign in Jaipur which resulted in his defeat and humiliating retreat from Lalsot in August 1787. He

retreated to Gwalior where he lodged his family and turned back to stop the Rajputs from cutting him off from Delhi. But more than the Rajah of Jaipur, Sindhia had cause to fear Ghulam Qadir Rohilla who was appointed *Mir Bakhshi* and regent by the Emperor on 24 August 1787 in his place. Agra, Ajmir and the whole of the Doab except Aligarh were lost to his rivals. He perforce had to retire south of the Chambal and reorganise his resources as there was no support from the Peshwa for the present.

Leaving his family he went to Alwar. In the meantime Rana Khan came to his succour from the south, defeated Ismail Khan on 17 June 1788 and cleared the country west of the Jumna of Sindhia's enemies.

GHULAM QADIR

Ghulam Qadir, son of Zabita Khan, had succeeded his father on 21 January 1785. His first move was to drive out the Marahathas from the Upper Doab and seize the imperial territory there. His recent success and Mahdaji's discomfiture at Lalsot made him aspire to the post of Mir Bakhshi and control the Delhi affairs. He received encouragement and support from Mansur Ali Khan[44] (the Nazir of the Haram) and other disgruntled Mughul officers. Ghulam Qadir marched to Shahdara and the Mughul attempt to force him back failed miserably. Shah Alam in despair opened negotiations with Ghulam Qadir who was admitted to royal presence on 26 August 1787. On 5 September he assumed control over the capital and the Emperor appointed him *Bakhshi-i-Mumalik* and Naib and granted him a *khilat*, robes and *rescripts* for suitable Jagirs. When the Emperor was told that Ghulam Qadir was unworthy of the post given to him he is reported to have replied, "I must turn this calamity out of Delhi somehow or other ; if not, should the Ruhelas lay hands on the city nobody can save it. It is expedient to humour him."

When Ghulam Qadir crossed back to the Doab a feeble attempt was made to prevent his re-entry into the capital. Prince Jawan Bakht who was in exile was summoned by his father but he had neither the capacity nor the resources or power to save the Empire. Ghulam Qadir after capturing Aligarh and several other jagirs and enlisting the support of Ismail Beg returned to Shahdara on 1 July 1788. Mansur Ali and Ram Ratan Mode supported him with 200 cart-loads

of powder. The city could not hold out long and Ghulam Qadir was received by the Emperor on 18th July 1788. "Thus began," writes Sarkar, "the last Afghan occupation of Delhi which lasted for two and a half months, from 18th July to 2nd October 1788. It inflicted unspeakable suffering and dishonour on the royal family and ruined the prestige of the empire beyond recovery. Shah Alam was deposed (20 July) and blinded (10 August); tender children and helpless women were done to death by denying them food or drink for days together; princes were flogged, princesses were dishonoured, servants were beaten till They died ; the entire palace area, as well as the mansions of the rich outside the fort, were turned upside down by digging for concealed treasure. The palace was denuded of its property and the royal family of its youthful beauties to gratify the Ruhela's passions. It was a dance of demons for nine weeks."[45]

Ghulam Qadir needed money to raise a force to fight against the Marahathas and stabilise his position at the court. He had old family scores to settle with the Mughuls. He now used all possible means to force the Emperor, the princes and the princesses, their adherents and the leading men of the city to disgorge their wealth. In this he was helped by Dowager Empress Malika-i-Zamani who had offered 12 lakhs to Ghulam Qadir to place her grandson Bidar Bakht on the throne. On 30th July 1788 the Afghans took over control of the palace and confined Shah Alam and his 19 sons in the chapel. Bidar Bakht, the son of Ahmad Shah, was placed on the throne. Shah Alam having failed to reveal the treasures was exposed in the sun without food or drink and insulted and abused by Ghulam Qadir. On 10 October Shah Alam's eye balls were torn out, one by Ghulam Qadir and the other by Qandhari Khan. Ghulam Qadir pulled the beard of the Shah and cried, "Served you right. This is the return for your action at Ghausgarh." In two days 21 princes and princesses had died of torture and privations. Malika-i-Zamani and Sahiba Mahal, who had been instrumental in bringing Ghulam Qadir to Delhi, were exposed to the sun and the public gaze. Manzur Ali was severely beaten and his house ransacked. Never was the search for hidden treasures carried out so brutally, thoroughly and systematically and Ghulam Qadir who claimed to be

the scourage of God fully earned that unenviable distinction. Prince Akbar, the heir apparent, was forced to get drunk and dance in his presence. He then taunted him that if Mughul princes had not been such singers and dancers (*domni bachos*) they would not have suffered this fate. The Mughul princesses, said he, should be given to mate with the Afghans and produce a manlier race. The princesses were taken out of the haram, stripped of their veils and dishonoured. Some of them were sent to Ghausgarh. The spoils obtained from Delhi were estimated at 25 crores. Gold coating of one cupola of the Jami Masjid was removed.

Sindhia when he heard of these incidents sent a force under Rana Khan to Delhi on 14 September 1788. On the 28th old Delhi was occupied, and the capital on 2 October. Ghulam Qadir held out for some days but vacated the fort on 10 October. The Marahatha occupied the capital and Khutba was read in Shah Alam's name on 17 October.

Ghulam Qadir was now pursued by the Marahathas. His fort at Aligarh fell to his enemies on the 20 October. Flying from place to place he finally shut himself in the fort of Meerut. The fort was closely besieged and finding his position untenable he left the fort secretly on 17 December with an escort of 500 soldiers. He lost most of his followers in a skirmish with the Marahathas. He was separated from his party and having lost his horse during his flight he on foot limped into Bamrauli, three miles south of west of Shamli, and found refuge in a Brahmin's house. The latter betrayed him to Ali Bahadur, a Marahatha officer, encamping in the vicinity. Ghulam Qadir was taken into custody on 19 December 1788 and sent to Mahdaji at Muthra on 31 December. Ghulam Qadir and Manzur Ali were executed. According to Khair-ud-Din "When his headless trunk was hung upside down from a tree, a black dog with white rings round its eyes sat below it and lapped up the blood dripping from the neck, returning to its horrid meal again and again though driven away with stones, and that after two days both corpse and dog disappeared, never to be seen again by any human eye."[46]

The fall of Ghulam Qadir Khan weakened the anti-Marahatha party in Delhi. Najaf Quli Khan,[47] though a good soldier, was incompetent and spiritless. Ismail Beg, the nephew of Muhammad Beg Hamadani, had collaborated with Ghulam Qadir in the occupa-

tion of Delhi but had left the Rohilla disgusted with his senseless brutality and avarice. He was now "the greatest living champion of Muslim domination" in the Delhi Empire but he had not the means to organise a joint front against the enemy or the backing of a well knit determined party. Sindhia, one of the most astute Marahatha leaders, won over Ismail Beg and set him against Najaf Quli Khan but the alliance did not last long. Ismail Beg left Sindhia and joined the Rajputs. The confederates were defeated at Patan on 20 June 1790 and at Merta in September of the same year. Ismail Beg continued the fight. He was finally defeated, captured and imprisoned in Agra where he was done to death sometimes after. Najaf Quli Khan had died on 23 August 1791. After punishing the Rajputs and reducing the princes to practical vassalage Sindhia left for Poona in the beginning of 1792.

Mahdaji Sindhia had earlier appointed as his agent at Shah Alam's court, one Anand Rao Narsi Yerulkkar who continued in that capacity from 1780 to 1786. In March 1786 "he gave mortal offence to Shah Alam by parading through the Marahatha camp an old man and a lady, dressed out in rags and tinsel ornaments to caricature the pauper Emperor and his favourite daughter."[48] He was replaced by Ladoji Sitola, Sindhia's son-in-law, but the latter fled away from Delhi in August 1787 after Sindia's disastrous defeat at Lalsot. In 1789 after he recovered his supremacy at the court, he appointed Shah Nizam-ud-Din as his subadar at Delhi to exercise civil and diplomatic control over the province while the fort was entrusted to a Hindu officer.

SHAH NIZAM-UD-DIN

Shah Nizam-ud-Din came of a highly respected family. He was employed by Shah Alam to negotiate with Sindhia's agent in Delhi from 1783 onward. Shahji acted as Sindhia's subadar of Delhi from August 1789 to June 1796. He was replaced by Shah Haji, a personal friend of Prince Ahmad, but was reappointed in May 1798. In October 1799 Prince Akbar seized Shahji, had him beaten and confined in the palace. He was later released and continued as subadar till 1808 when he was replaced by Peron. Shah Nizam-ud-Din kept a strict watch over the inmates of the palace. According to Col. John

Murray who pleaded for better treatment of Shah Alam, the Shah did not give "a farthing of money to the Badshaw, or any of his people, affecting to console the poor old King that it is all the better for him, as no temptation can remain for another Ghulam Qadir to seize upon him for the sake of plunder. Regularly every day he furnishes the old King with two seers (4 lbs) of pillaw and eight seers of meat for himself to get cooked as he likes. This, with two loaves of bread, about the length each of a cubit, to suffice for breakfast, dinner and supper, and he may get *masala* (spices and condiments) where he can. This, however, though it is to serve for five persons and the poor servants who can pick at it a bit afterwards, is living *in clover* in comparison with the rest of the royal household. They, poor creatures without distinction, Princes and Princesses, nay Queens and all eunuchs and female slaves, have exactly delivered out to them to bake into cakes two seers a day of barley flour for every three of them, which they are to bake for themselves, and are thus afforded two-thirds of a seer of food a day. For liquors, from the King to the turnspit, they have nothing but water. I asked, if the old gentlemen would not wish to regale himself with beef now and then ? Yes, he longs for it, but where is he to get it ? The old Nizam (of Hyderabad) sent the King six years ago 6000 gold mohurs. Every farthing got into the Cowrie Father's hands (Shah Nizamuddin) and remained there."

Shah Nizam-ud-Din not only stinted the payment of maintenance allowance to the royal family but was harsh, and disrespectful in addressing the Emperor. Shah Alam perhaps deserved the scorn and contempt of Shahji by reason of his sensuality and love of pleasure to which the Emperor was addicted. That the recent humiliation and sufferings at the hands of Ghulam Qadir had not cooled his passions is borne out by Modave and Polier. Writing in 1773 Modave[50] wrote, "This monarch has two qualities which seem hereditary in his house. He is marvellously devout and very much given to women. He passes his life in their midst, having no less than 500 in his seraglio, who for the most part have still others to serve them, and the last named sometimes themselves become the objects of the Padishah's attention."

Polier confirms this observation. "The King has a very numerous

family, above 500 women and nearly 70 children male and female, besides grandchildren, and exclusive of those that had died; however, most of those children are very young and not above 5 or 6 of them are in their manhood, the rest are of all ages from 14 to the lowest, and never a year passes without several births."[51] He had married a dancing girl of Delhi, Azizan by name. She would often get angry and the old dotard would humiliate himself to placate her.[52]

As an immediate measure Sindhia fixed the Emperor's allowance at 300 rupees a day and later at 1,50,000 annually. The actual realization from the lands assigned for this purpose came to about a quarter of this amount. This meant starvation for the numerous princes in the palace and many of them left Delhi secretly and sought asylum in Awadh, the Deccan and Afghanistan. Shah Alam's secret appeals for help to the British, Sindhia and the Durrani chief were countered by Shah Nizam-ud-Din. Shah Alam continued to live in penury as a nonentity as Sindhia had his hands full elsewhere and could do little to relieve the distress of the royal family.

The Anglo-Marahatha (1803-1805) war resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Marahathas. They had brought this calamity themselves on their heads by their internecine conflicts. Lord Wellesley had started negotiations with the Marahathas in order to draw them into the ring fence of subsidiary alliances. Raghunath having been defeated by Holkar fled from Poona and at Bassein seigned the treaty with the British which made him dependent on them. This was resented by other Marahatha chiefs and the treaty of Bassein led to the second Anglo-Marahatha war. Daulat Rao's army was defeated by Lake, Aligarh was captured and the British armies marched to Delhi and captured it on 16 September 1803. In the south the forces of Sindhia and Bhonsla were defeated at Assaye and Laswari and the two chiefs "signed away their independence" by the treaties of Deogaon and Surji-Anjangoan. The Mughul empire came virtually to an end with the defeat of the Marahathas; "Shivaji's dream of Hindu pad-Padshahi" vanished.

When Lord Lake occupied Delhi and an inventory of the spoils was prepared Shah Alam was listed as an article of loot, but he was treated with humanity and generosity by the British. Some *mahals*

round Delhi were allotted to him for his maintenance and that of the numerous members of his household.

The pension of one lakh granted to him by the English on whom he had confirmed the Diwani of Bengal did not satisfy his needs but he bore the hardships of his life with rare patience, dignity and fortitude. Since his flight from Delhi he had been a "pawn whom nobody wanted to lose but no one was willing to queen." His life epitomises the social, political and economic conditions of the eighteenth century and fate had singled him out to play the central figure in the tragic drama of Mughul history. He died on 19 November, 1806, and was buried near the tomb of Bahadur Shah I. His death closed an epoch as the House of Babur fell with him never to rise again and any hopes of its restoration was practically lost.

CHARACTER OF SHAH ALAM

Francklin at the time of writing his history of Shah Alam, describes him thus, "Shah Aulum, nominal Emperor of Hindostaun, is in his 75th year. His stature tall and commanding, his aspect dignified and majestic. The ravages of time are discernible on his face, and the recollection of his misfortunes have impressed his features with melancholy. His early youth was passed in spirited, though ineffectual, struggles, to restore the diminished lustre of imperial authority, and his conduct, whilst contending against the usurped power of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, deserves great praise. But in the greater part of his life, little can be found deserving the applause of posterity. Irresolute and indecisive in his measures, he too frequently rendered useless the plans formed by his friends for the recovery of his authority, while his excessive love of pleasure, and infatuated attachment to unworthy favourites, contributed to degrade him in the eyes of his neighbours and allies, and render the small remains of his dominion contemptible. All his ministers, with the exception of Nujuff Khan, were prodigal and rapacious in the extreme; they perceived the king's weakness, and by flattering his vanity and supplying his extravagance, ensured to themselves an uncontrolled authority in the state, while they abused generosity of their sovereign, by committing every species of enormity and oppressive violence.

"Shah Aulum had improved a very good education by study

and reflection ; he was a complete master of the languages of the east, and as a writer, attained an eminence seldom acquired by persons in his high station. His correspondence with the different princes of the country, during a very long and chequered reign, exhibits proofs of a mind highly cultivated ; and if we may judge by an elegiac essay, composed after the cruel loss of his sight, he appears to have great merit in pathetic composition. In the internal economy of his household, he is universally allowed to be an affectionate parent, a kind master, and a generous patron. His trials have been many, and it is earnestly to be hoped the evening of his life may be passed in a peaceful tranquility ; upon a review of his life and action, it may, without injustice, be pronounced, that though Shah Aulum possessed not a capacity sufficiently vigorous to renovate the springs of a relaxed government, or emulate his illustrious ancestors, he, notwithstanding, had many virtues commendable in a private station ; but he unfortunately reigned at a time when the royal authority was in its most degraded state, and when great and shining talents were necessary to render permanent his power, and curb the licentious, rebellious and disobedient subjects. The *Sun of Timmor*, as a respectable historian has justly observed, is most probably set for ever ; and if a continuation of the metaphor be allowable, it may be added, that the decline and utter extinction of that august family was reserved to the days of the unfortunate Shah Aulum."[53]

Shah Alam was kind hearted, generous, courageous and enterprising. But early setbacks and vicissitudes of life had made him timorous, vacillating and slow to take decisions. He found escape, particularly after his return to Delhi, from the hardships of life in sexual pleasures, music, dance, poetry. Towards the end of his life he also became more particular in offering prayers and remembrance of God. Being a good caligraphist he used to copy a portion of the Quran every day. He was extremely respectful towards the ulama and the mashaikh. The urs of Hazrat Muin-ud-Din Chisti and Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani was regularly celebrated in the palace and large sums of money given away in charity. Hindu and Muslim religious festivals were celebrated and the king personally participated in the festivities accompanying them.

Shah Alam was deeply interested in poetry and was himself a

poet writing in Persian and Urdu under the pen name of Aftab and Hindi under the pen name of Shah Alam. Amongst his writings he has left, a Diwan in Urdu, a Persian Diwan, Manzum-i-Aqdas, Qissa Shah Shuja-ul-Shams, and Nadirat-i-Shahi.[54]

His forbearance was extraordinary. Many instances are recorded of the indecent behaviour of some of his officers in the darbar and the vulgar language they would use in his presence. His elegaic poem written after he was blinded by Ghulam Qadir, of whom he speaks as "a serpent who had stung the bosom where he had been fostered," is pathetic, dignified, restrained and a good specimen of his poetical skill.

Polier met Shah Alam when he was fifty years of age. "Shah Aulum is about 50 years of age," writes Polier, "of a strong frame and good constitution, his size above the middling and his aspect tho: generally with a melancholy cast has a good deal of sweetness and benighity in it, which cannot but interest the beholder in his favour. His deportment in public is grave and reserve, but on the occasion full of graciousness and condescension. Indulgent to his servants, easily satisfied with their services, he seldom finds fault with them, or takes notice of any neglect they may be guilty of. A fond father, he has the greatest attachment for his children, whom yet he keeps agreeable to the usage of the court, under great subordination and restriction.

He is also strictly devout and an exact observer of the ceremonies of his religion, though it must be owned, not without a strong sense of superstition. He is well versed in the Persian and Arabic languages, particularly the former, and is not ignorant of some of the dialects of India, in which he often amuses himself in composing verses and songs. That he wants neither courage nor spirit has been often put to the proof."[55]

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CHAPTER V (BOTH PARTS)

1. Twenty-three years and five days according to Jam-i-Jam by Syyid Ahmad, p. 66.
2. J.N. Sarkar. Vol. I, p. 328.
3. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VIII, p. 105.
4. Ibid, pp. 113-14, Udham Bai was entitled Mumtaz Mahal.
5. Tarikh-i-Shakir Khan, ff. 34-35.
6. Ibid, f. 35.
7. Sakar, I, p. 364.
8. 18 miles south of Delhi.
9. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, quoted by Sarkar, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 450-51.
10. Ibid., p. 487.
11. Bayan-i-Waqih, fol. 283-4 ; Sarkar, Vol.I, pp. 539-40.
12. Maulvi Zakaullah, Tarikh-i-Ḥindustan, Vol. IX, p. 224, (Institute Aligarh College, 1919).
13. Tawarikh-i-Alamgir, E. & D., VIII, p. 142. He was sixty-eight years and a few months of age, see Jam-i-Jam, p. 67.
14. Tawarikh-i-Alamgir. He was fifty-six years.
15. Sarkar, II, 2.
16. Jean Law,
17. Siyar, III, p. 375.
18. During his childhood he was affectionately styled Lal Mian and Mirza Bulāqi.
19. Thirty-two years, five months and five days, according to Jam-i-Jam, p. 68.
20. Jean Law, Memoirs of the Empire of the Mughuls, op. cit. p. 329.
21. Sarkar, Vol. II, p. 161.
22. Seven miles west of Patna.
23. Five miles north of Son.
24. Sarkar gives the date of the battle.
25. Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shah, E & D., Vol. viii, p. 268.
26. Shah Waliullah ke Siyasi Khatut, ed. K.A. Nizami, Aligarh.
27. Abdul Ali Shujah-ud-Daulah, I.H.R.C., ix, 118.
28. Nawa-i-Maarik.
29. Sierul Muthakhrieen.
30. Ibid.
31. Forster : Jaunary from Bengal to England, p. 164.
32. 25 September 1771 according to Waqai Alam Shahi.

33. Modave, Journal du Voyage......, ms. p. 289, Quoted by Sarkar, Fall of the Mughul Empīre, Vol. iii, p. 43.
34. Sarkar, Vol. iii, p. 66.
35. Sarkar, iii, p. 89.
36. His original name was Walter Reinhard and became better known as Samru. During his career as a free lance he served 12 or 14 masters but after joining the Emperor he remained loyal to him.
37. A French adventurer who deserted and joined Najaf.
38. Eight miles northwest of Muzaffarnagar.
39. October 2, 1772 according to some writers.
40. Sarkar, Vol. iii, p. 159.
According to a saying of the time he became "half sikh and half Rohilla."
41. Sarkar, Vol. iii, p. 230.
42. Mirza Jawan Bakht was the eldest son of Muhammad Shah. After Ghaziuddin's flight from Delhi he was placed on the throne as locum-teners for his father. He ended his days as a British pensioner in Benares. In 1787 he sent a letter to king Geroge III but it is not known whether the letter ever reached the king. For the text of the latter see Franklin, History of the Reign of Shah Alam, 1798, p. 243.
43. Hastings had hoped to project English influence at Delhi but gave up the idea of the removal of Abdul Ahad Khan.
44. When Ghulam Qadir had been captured after the fall of Ghausgarh he was about eight or ten years of age. Sháh Alam had ordered his execution along with other prisoners. Manzur Ali had interceded on his behalf and his life was spared. Shāh Alam struck by his handsome looks enrolled him as a page and had him castrated.
45. Sarkar, Vol. iii, p. 441-2
46. Faqir Khairuddin's Ibratnama, E. & D., viii, p. 254.
47. He was a converted Hindu and a protege of Mirza NajafKhan and brother-in-law of Ghūlam Qadir. He died at Kanound.
48. Sarkar, Vol. iv, p. 218.
49. See H. Compton, Particular Account of the European Military Adventures of Hindustan, T. Fisher Unwin, London, pp. 83-84.
50. Modave, Islamic Culture Board, Haiderabad, Deccan, Vol. ix, July 1937, p. 386.
51. P.C. Gupta, Shah Alam II and his Court, pp. 69-70.
52. Waqai Alam Shahi by Kunwar Prem Kishore Firoqi, Rampur, 1949, p. 216.
53. History of the Reign of Shah Aulum, by W. Francklin, pp. 195-96.
54. For a fuller account of social and economic life of the eighteenth century see Chapter.
55. A.L.H. Polier, Shah Alam II and His Court, pp. 67-69.

CHAPTER VI

BENGAL BIHAR AND ORISSA 1707-1757

Section I : MURSHID QULI KHAN

In November 1700 Alamgir transferred to Bengal one Muhammad Hadi who had been given the title of Kartalab Khan, as *Diwan* of Bengal and *faujdar* of Makhsusabad. This was the famous Murshid Quli Khan, one of the most efficient officers of the time of Alamgir, who dominated the Bengal scene from 1700 to 1727.

Murshid Quli Khan was a Brahmin by birth who had been purchased as a slave and brought up as a Muslim by one Haji Shafi Isfahani who had served as a *diwan-i-tan* under the Mughuls and also as Diwan of Bengal and Deccan. Haji Shafi had earlier taken his protege to Iran where "the refinement, orderliness and wisdom of the Persian race" was grafted on "the intelligence and industry of the Brahmin stock." He visited Persia again when his master retired from Mughul service in 1690, returning to India in 1696.[1] He then entered the service of Haji Abdullah Khurasani, the *diwan* of Berar. The Emperor Alamgir was so highly impressed by his ability that he appointed him the *diwan* of Haiderabad and *faujdar* of Yelkondal. He was appointed diwan of Bengal on 17 November 1700. He was also the faujdar of Makhsusabad,[2] Midnapore, Burdawan Sylhet and Cuttack. His appointmsnt as *diwan* was not liked by the old officers and Prince Muhammad Azim-nd-Din the then *subadar* of Bengal. An awkward attempt on his life and the slanderous campaign against him did not deter him from carrying out administrative reforms as he had won the confidence and support of the Emperor. He informed the Emperor of the difficulties he had to face in the day to day working of his Department.[3] "Partners in my work and other selfish people" he wrote, "are openly boasting that (in their reports to the Imperial Court) they would write whatever they thought proper, and the zamindars on the spreading of this news, are withholding the payment of their due revenue. If the Emperor does not remedy it, lakhs of rupees would again be lost (to the State). I have increased the cultivation of the country and gathered krors of rupees in revenue. But

as selfish men are destroying my work, I pray some other servant may be appointed in my place." This threat of resignation had immediate effect. Aurangzeb replied, "I do not see your point clearly. You are *diwan* and *faujdar* with full power, and nobody's allegation against you is acceptable to me. Why do you entertain doubts (about my trust in you) prompted by Satan ? God guard us from such wickedness : Who are your partners and what is their object ? Keep in view my favour and instructions, give no place to apprehension in your heart, and exert yourself even more earnestly than before in collecting the revenue."[4]

Prince Muhammad Azim-ud-Din had been personally affected by the discontinuance of the private trade in which he had indulged known as the *Sauda-i-Khas* and stricter control of the realization of the taxes by his agents.[5] As a precautionary measure against any future attempt at his life, Murshid Quli Khan shifted his headquarters from Dacca to Makhsusabad which was renamed some time after as Murshidabad. On 21 January 1703 he was appointed deputy *subadar* and later full *subadar* of Orissa in addition to his other posts. On the transfer of Prince Azim-ud-Din to Bihar in 1706 his son Farrukhsiyar was appointed as his father's agent in Bengal. After the death of Alamgir and the battle of Jajau (8 June 1707) Azim-ud-Din was given the title of Azim-ush-Shan and reappointed as Governor of Bengal and Bihar, his two sons Farrukhsiyar and Karimuddin acting as his duputies in these provinces respectively. Murshid Quli Khan was divested of his offices and sent as *diwan* of Deccan. Two years after (1710) he was reappointed the *diwan* of Bengal. There was open rupture between Farrukhsiyar and Murshid Quli Khan when the latter refused to send him at Patna the Bengal treasure during the civil war following the death of Bahadur Shah. On the accession of Farrukhsiyar Murshid Quli Khan paid the provincial tribute and was confirmed as *diwan* of Bengal and later appointed deputy- *subadar* of Bengal and *subadar* of Orissa. After the accession of Farrukhsiyar first the Emperor's infant son Farkhunda Siyar and, later Mir Jumla, were appointed Governors of Bengal with Murshid Quli Khan as the deputy. In 1717 Murhid Quli Khan now with the high sounding titles of Alaul Mulk Jafar Khan Bahadur Nasiri, Nasir Jang, Mutaman-ul-Mulk was appointed *subadar* of Bengal.

MURSHID QULI KHAN'S REVENUE SYSTEM

The principal sources of state income in Bengal were land revenue and custom duties. The arable land was parcelled out in jagirs in lieu of their salaries amongst the government officers. Murshid Quli Khan's radical measure to convert such *jagirs* into *khalsa* lands and allotment of *jagirs* to the officers in Orissa was expected to divert income from land in the form of land revenue to the state exchequer. He started the collection of revenue through *ijaradars* or farmers of land revenue against personal security bonds for which they were required to execute. This measure of his gradually pushed the old hereditary zamindars in the background and a new class of intermediaries came into being derived mainly from "official and capitalist classes." These *ijaradars* were recruited mostly from amongst the Hindus. They constituted the new landed aristocracy later confirmed by Lord Cornwallis.[6] According to Salim Ullah, "Murshid Quli Khan employed none but Bengali Hindus in the collection of the revenues, because they were most easily compelled by punishment to discover their malpractices and nothing was to be apprehended from their pusillanimity."[7]

Before his time all the higher officers in Mughul administration in Bengal used to be filled by men from northern India and Punjab. Murshid Quli Khan recruited Bengalis, mainly Hindus, to the highest civil posts and even military post under the *faujdars* in the subah. Many families still bear the official designations they acquired under the Nawabs of Bengal. The government dues were thus exacted with great severity and the defaulters were invariably punished. A cadastral survey of land was carried out and proper collection of regular and legitimate revenue assured. Illegal and extra revenue taxes and trade monopolies were forbidden. His firm administration assured prosperity to the people of Bengal. Murshid Quli Khan showed every consideration to merchants of every description and thus the prosperity of Bengal was promoted by increased commerce. Hugli became a prosperous colony particularly patronized by Persian merchants, scholars, divines and perfumers. He died on 30 June 1727 highly respected by all classes of people. According to Salim Ullah : "Since the time of Shaista Khan there had not appeared in any part of Hindutsan an amir who could be compared with Jafar Khan for zeal in the

propagation of the faith, for wisdom in the establishment of laws and regulations, for munificence and liberality in the encouragement and support given to men of family and eminence, for rigid and impartial justice in redressing wrongs and punishing offenders. His judicial decisions were rational and proper...[7]

"From breakfast to noon he employed himself in copying the Quran, he maintained above 2000 readers, beadsmen and chanters, who were constantly employed in reading the Quran and in other acts of devotion. He always provided against famine and severely prohibited all monopolies of grain, and also the exportation of grain.

"He despised all kinds of luxury, particularly in dress and food. He possessed very extensive learning, and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition. During his government the meanest peasant was secured from injustice and oppression... Two days in the week he administered justice in person, and was so impartial in his dicisions, and rigid in the execution thereof, that no one dared to commit oppression."[8]

To this the author of the Riyas-us-Salatin, writing 25 years after Salimullah adds "never in his life did he take any consort except his one married wife. Such was his delicacy of feeling that he did not admit into his harem any eunuch or any woman who was not of known character and trustworthiness (na-maharam)."[8]

Murshid Quli Khan checked the private trade in which Mughul officers had freely indulged particularly after the appearance of the European merchants. Such trade not only affected legitimate interests of the producers but hindered distribution and competition. The abuse of *dastaks* by European companies further harmed the government, the producers, the distributors as well as the consumers. His revenue reforms promoted the welfare of the people but his hand fell heavily on the revenue collectors and zamindars whenever they were found guilty of defalcations or delay in payment of revenue. Many inland towns were developed and foreign and internal trade was encouraged. He kept the roads as well as the river-ways open and made travel safe by establishing *thanas* and *sarais*. Security of life and property and peace and equitable justice led to the prosperity of the people and great increase in agricultural and industrial

production. The European settlements became the nucleus for a new moneyed capitalist class which as time passed on played an important role in the economic and political life of the people of the province. Accordirg to Dr A. Karim, "While at Murshidabad Murshid Quli Khan was creating a new official class, the nucleus for an independent state of Bengal, a powerful moneyed class was being formed round the settlements of the European companies. Many of both the group were Hindus, and the Marwaris were particularly important ; when in 1757 the strength of the ruling dynasty was pitted against that of the English Company their attitude was to prove crucial."[9]

Murshid Quli Khan appears to have received good education under his master. He was a man of learning, wrote an elegant hand,[10] and was skilled in arithmetic. He was generous, upright and just though a hard task master and at times cold blooded. He encouraged the spread of education and patronized men of learning. His private life was chaste and simple. He said his prayers regularly, fasted during the month of Ramzan, employed a large number of reciters of the Quran and distributed alms amongst the poor on holy occasions. He was just and was renowned for the fearless impartial justice dispensed by him. He is credited with having built two mosques, one at Dacca and the other in Murshidabad. Educational institutions were also built and learned men patronized. Shias and Sunnis lived in peace which Murshid Quli Khan gave to Bengal by his overhauling of the reveuue system, the making of the administration effective, promotion of trade and industry, and encouraging education and learning, firmly controlling Mughul officials and European merchants. After his death as a result of intrigues of the European merchants, the pressure of Marahatha invaders and weakening of the central authority came, as pointed out by Dr. Karim, social stagnation, lowering of military efficiency and widespread corruption amongst government officers. Bengal was isolated from the rest of India and though it escaped the devastating deluge of foreign invasion, it was here that the stage was set for foreign domination of the entire subcontinent.

Section II : Shuja-ud-Din Muhammad Khan

Murshid Quli Khan was succeeded by his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-Din

Muhammad Khan (surnamed Shuja-ud-Dullah Asad Jang). The latter was an Afshar Turk and had married Murshid Quli Khan's daughter Zinat-un-Nisa. He was appointed the Deputy Governor of Orissa but the relations between the two were strained. Murshid Quli had tried to secure the nomination of his grandson Sarfraz as his successor but he died before securing such nomination. Shuja-ud-Din had in the meantime secured such nomination for himself through the good offices of Khan-i-Dauran. He marched to Murshidabad and proclaimed his accession to the *Masnad*, his son quietly submitting to his father. There was the usual redistribution of offices and Shuja-ud-Din began to consolidate his position. He redressed the wrongs inflicted on the zamindars by the agents of his predecessors by rein-vestigating the cases against them. The Emperor at Delhi was kept in good humour by regular remittance of the tribute and occasional presents. He in early years personally attended to the business of state and was generous and polite to his friends and officers, and scrupulously just. According to the author of the Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin "the poorest suitor was sure of being in his presence upon a footing with his very son and the fearful sparrow certain of finding in his bosom a shelter against the hawk, and fled towards him with a perfect reliance on his goodness. People acquainted with history thought they lived in Naushirwan's reign."[11]

He continued the policy of respecting and supporting financially learned and pious persons. Magnificent new buildings were raised. The strength of the army was increased and peace and order was maintained throughout the province. In his later days he be-came slothful and profligate and came under the influence of a court clique which adversely affected the efficiency and the effectiveness of the administration.

In 1738 Bihar was added to the Subah of Bengal which now comprised Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. For adminstrative convenience the enlarged *subah* was divided into four divisions. The central division was administered by the Nawab himself while the other three were placed under *sub-nazims*. Mir Habib led an expedition into Tipperah, captured the fort of Chandigarh, appointed the nephew of the Rajah to the kingdom and returned to Dacca with considerable booty and a large number of elephants. Sarfaraz Khan was appoint-ed the deputy governor of Dacca. The latter appointed Jaswant Roy

as his *diwan*. Jaswant Roy abolished various monopolies, reduced the duties upon grain and considerably contributed by his wise and sagacious administration to the peace and prosperity of Dacca. This prosperity ended with the resignation of Jaswant Roy when Murad Ali was appointed the deputy governor of Dacca with Rajas Ballabh as his *peshkar*. The Raja of Dinajpur and Kuch were reduced to submission. An expedition was sent against Badi-uz-Zaman, the zamindar of Bhirbhaun. Badi-ud-Zaman surrendered, went to Dacca and was reconformed in his *zamindari* on promising "an annual remittance of three lakhs of rupees to the Nawab, besides the standard revenue due from him and Orissa was wisely administered"[12] When the idol of Jagannath was removed from Puri Rajah Ramchandra was placated and the idol was brought back and the loss of nine lakhs of rupees from the annual pilgrim tax was restored to the Government.

The foreign companies continued to have flourishing trade in the *subah*. Fathchand, the leading banker of Bengal, supplied coins in exchange for bullion to obviate the difficulties experienced by the English on account of prohibition imposed by the Nawab regarding the circulation of Madras and Arcot rupees in Bengal. The Ostend Company excited the jealousy of the Dutch and the English and the two in conjunction with each other paid two lakhs to the Nawab for taking the Ostend ship.[13] The Dutch, the English and the French companies were jealous of each other and the English were particularly apprehensive of the growing commercial traffic of the French Company. The Nawab described by the English as "the rash and powerful subah" maintained strict authority over the European traders in Bengal. The English conciliated the Nawab by promising to pay him three lakhs of rupees as *nazr* and avoided conflict with the government. The Nawab in 1735 demanded arrears of rent of their towns from the English. An attempt to secure a new and more favourable *firman* from Delhi did not succeed as the Nawab was "too absolute to regard any orders from the court in their favour." A compromise was effected through the mediation of Haji Ahmad and good relations ware restored.

Nawab Shuja-ud-Din sent tribute of Rs. 1,25,00,000 annually throughout his period of Nawabship. Besides the land revenue he continued to levy additional imposts amounting to 19,14,025 annually. There was peace and prosperity in the province throughout his regime.

According to Sir John Shore the regime was "moderate, firm and seems the only part of the whole period from Murshid Quli to Mir Qasim, with an exception perhaps of the last years of Ali Vardi Khan, in which the conduct of the government was in any respect calculated for the improvement of the country."[14]

Section : III SARFARAZ KHAN

Shuja-ud-Dulah died on 13 March 1739 and was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz. The latter had neither the ability nor the inclination to devote himself to the business of state. He passed most of his time, according to Sarkar, with the ladies of the haram 1500 in number or his boon companions or theologians. He was killed in a battle with Ali Vardi Khan on 9 April 1740 at Gira. Ala-ud-Daulah Sarfaraz Khan, according to Janathan Scott on the other hand, "was a young prince whose character as a moral and religious man stands high in the pages of native history." Yusuf Ali Khan who was constantly with Sarfaraz wrote of him thus : "Sarfaraz Khan was a prince of exemplary virtue for though he possessed every incitement to voluptuousness in addition to the season of youth, yet he was not addicted to sensual enjoyments, and during his short government, in the course of which I was constantly with him, I never beheld in his conduct even a tendency towards a vicious action. But, alas ! he was ignorant of the arts of policy, and possessed not an address or manners to conciliate the world, so that he becams a prey to the machination of his enemies."[15]

Section IV : ALI VARDI KHAN MAHABAT JUNG

Mirza Mohammad Ali was the son of Mirza Mohammad who had been in the service of Azim-ush-Shan and after his patron's death had joined Shuja-ud-Din, then the deputy governor of Orissa. Mir Mohammad Ali who had served as *Darogha-i-fil Khana* and *Zardoz Khana* joined his father in Cuttack in 1720 and was taken into service on a monthly stipend of one hundred rupees. His brother Haji Ahmad soon joined the family along with his three sons and received suitable appointment. Mirza Mohammad Ali was entrusted with the task of putting down rebellious zamindars and acquitted himself so well that he rose high in the favour of Shuja-ud-Din who was impressed by his ability and military prowess. In recognition of his services in securing the *masnad* of Bengal for him after the death of

Murshid Quli Khan he appointed Mohammad Ali as the *faujdar* of Rajmahal and procured for him from the Emperor a *mansab* and the title of Ali Vardi Khan. Haji Ahmad was appointed Superintendent of Customs of Murshidabad. Similar promotions and honours were bestowed on his sons. When the province of Bihar was conferred on Shuja-ud-Daulah he appointed Ali Vardi Khan to the Government of Bihar with additional *mansab* and the title of Mahabat Jung. Haji Ahmad was appointed Diwan of Bengal.

When Sarfaraz Khan succeeded to the *masnad* of Bengal he under pressure from his own defendents removed Haji Ahmad from the *Diwani* along with two of his highly favoured and trusted servants of his father, Alam Chand Rai Rayan and Jagat Seth, from their employments. Haji Ahmad realized the danger his family members were in as a result of the machinations of their enemies. He sought permission to resign from service and offered to make himself available for advice if so desired by the *subahdar*. Ali Vardi Khan in the meantime through his friend at Delhi was trying to get the *subahdari* of Bihar independent of Bengal. When Sarfaraz Khan was informed of this he was naturally alarmed as his succession had not yet been confirmed and the Delhi court was notoriously venal and corrupt. Sarfaraz made unsuccessful attempts to avoid armed conflict but was unwise enough to leave Haji Ahmad and his sons at large and take on military precautions against the possible use of force by Ali Vardi Khan. The latter marched to Rajmahal with a large army and Sarfaraz had no other alternative but to come out and fight the rebel. In the battle which ensued Sarfaraz who was thirty-six years of age was killed and Ali Vardi Khan become the *subahdar* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Two days after the victory he entered the capital. One crore of rupees and jewels, plate and rich goods worth 70 lakhs were sent as an offering to the Emperor. Mahabat Jung marched to Cuttack and having settled the affairs there appointed Saulat Jung, son of Haji Ahmad, as his deputy in Orissa. On his return he set about consolidating his position in Bengal. He showed great consideration to the members of the family of Sarfaraz and settled suitable stipends and lands on them for their maintenance. Saulat Jung, however, in Orissa did not show similar generous consideration to the family of Murshid Quli Khan. He subjected them to fines and extortions and disgraced himself by his profligacy. He gave offence to the

soldiers by neglecting their interests and reducing their salaries. They left his service in large numbers and so great was the discontent against the new deputy governor that there was a general rising against him in which he was captured and handed over to Baqir Khan who now assumed the government of Cuttack. Mahabat Jung on receipt of the news of recent happenings in Cuttack against the advice of his brother personally led an army against Baqir Khan. The latter could not stand against Mahabat Jung and fled to the Deccan. Saulat Jung and his family were released and sent to Murshidabad and Muhammad Masum was appointed the deputy governor of Orissa.

Mahabat Jung while encamped at Midnapure received the intelligence that a large Marahatha force was marching into Bengal to claim the *chauth* of that province. Thinking that the Marahathas would come through Bihar he marched to Burdawan. He was overtaken and the Marahathas laid waste the environs of his camp with fire and sword. There was desultory warfare and the Marahathas more interested in booty offered to retire on payment of 10 lakhs of rupees. This Mahabat Jung refused and tried to proceed to Murshidabad. But the indiscipline and cowardice of his army cost him loss of part of the baggage, artillery and tents. For three days a running fight was kept up but Mahabat Jung reached the banks of the river where he encamped and received reinforcements headed by Saulat Jung. The Marahathas would have retired but for the advice and support of Mir Habib, an officer of Mahabat Jung who had taken service with Holkar Rao. Mahabat Jung left Kutwah and reached Murshidabad one day after Mir Habib had plundered the environs and the factory of Jagat Seth. The Marahathas captured all the important places west of the Ganges except Murshidabad. Mahabat set about raising new levies and with the rainy season coming to the close he crossed over and attacked the Marahathas at Kutwah. The Marahathas were completely demoralized and fled toward Cuttack. They were hotly pursued and forced to leave the country. Appointing Abdul Rasool Khan to the Government of Cuttack, Mahabat Jung returned in triumph to his capital.

The Emperor on hearing of the defeat of the Marahathas as a mark of appreciation conferred on Mahabat Jung the title of Hussam-ud-Daulah and sent him a *khilat*, a sword and dagger set with jewels

as also a *sarpeech* and a pearl necklace. Safdar Jung who had been sent to help Mahabat Jung had reached Patna but by that time the Marahathas had been defeated and Mahabat Jung politely asked him to go back to his *subah*. Safdar Jung left Patna but appropriated some pieces of artillery and elephants belonging to the deputy governor.

Two Marahatha armies one under Raghuji Bhonsla and the other under Balaji entered Bengal but Mahabat Jung won over Balaji and made a joint attack on Raghuji who was forced to turn back. The immediate danger from the Marahathas was averted but the country-side suffered terribly by the indiscriminate plunder of the defenceless villages. Another Marahatha invasion was beaten back by treachery rather than valorous military encounter. The Marahatha leader with his immediate councillors, 19 in all, were invited to a personal party arranged by Mahabat Jung and then slaughtered in the audience tent. The Marahatha army not suspecting any treachery was attacked and dispersed with great slaughter.

The first rift in the close alliance of the member of the family of Ali Vardi Khan came when Mahabat refused to appoint Haji Ahmad as the *faujdar* of Hoogly. This post was conferred on Saulat Jung in spite of his senseless behaviour as deputy governor of Orissa. Haji Ahmad in disgust retired to Patna and gave himself up to sexual en-joyments in his old age. Mahabat Jung's immediate task was to consolidate his position, stabilize the financial position of his terri-tories and repair the ravages of Marahatha visitation. He had made lavish promises to the army officers in the form of rewards and pro-motions which he now found difficult to fulfil. This brought him in conflict with his chief councillor and agent Mustapha Khan, who had stood by him loyally and was responsible for Ali Vardi Khan's acquisi-tion of Nawabship and the successful encounter with the Marahathas. He had promised to give Mustapha Khan the government of Bihar which was held by his nephew and son-in-law, Haibat Jung. Mustapha Khan "esteemed himself the partner in authority than servant of the Nawab whom he was constantly pestering with recommendations for different offices and dignities for persons near to himself." "To such a pitch had Mustapha Khan carried his influence, that the zamindars of Bengal, when the *diwan* or revenue collectors, pushed them for payment, or enforced arrangements, thay did not comply with the

demands, however necessary and just, but bribed him (Mustapha Khan) to screen them for the resentment of the Nawab who, to please his minister, (whom he wished not to disgust in a season of danger) too often repealed his own orders, to the injury of his treasury and authority, so that the civil officers of government became of little consequence in the eyes of the renters. Mahabat Jung bore with the evil till it was becoming dangerous, but on the genaral's demanding the province of Bihar, he was obliged to refuse, fearing from his own conduct in a similar situation, that Mustapha Khan would finally direct the force which that government would give him, against his patron, as he himself had done against the unfortunate Ala-ud-Daulah."[16]

Mahabat Khan firmly refused to give him the governmet of Bihar though he tried to placate him by acceding to his other requests. Both Ali Vardi Khan and Mustapha Khan got suspicious of each other's intentions though to maintain appearances Mustapha Khan continued to visit Ali Vardi Khan. By inadvertance on one occasion Ali Vardi Khan left the audience hall before Mustapha Khan who had come to pay his respects entered the hall. Mustapha Khan left the place in high dudgeon and refused to return to the court in spite of the profuse assurance that no treachery or insult was intended. The general informed the Nawab that he intended to quit his service along with his followers and demanded the arrears due to himself and his soldiers. Ali Vardi Khan promptly paid up seventeen lakhs of rupees without examining his accounts and commanded him to quit his dominions. Mustapha Khan ascribed this ready payment of his arrear to the weakness and fear of Mahabat Jung and proposed to the Afghan Chiefs to join him in deposing Mahabat Khan and dividing his dominion among themselves. With one exception all the army chiefs refused to join him, as to mutiny was to behave ungratefully to their benefactor and was a base and dishonourable act. Mustapha Khan left Murshidabad after having set fire to his cantonment with more than 8000 horse and a great number of foot soldiers with the intention of capturing Bihar. Mahabat Jung warned Haibat Jung of the movement of Mustapha's army and himself prepared to pursue him. Mustapha Khan plundered Rajmahal, captured Monghir and proceeded to Patna. Haibat Jung having been put on his guard encamped outside the town to fight the invader. He

sent an emissary to Mustapha Khan asking him to produce an imperial order if he proposed to capture Patna, but if he wanted to go to Benares or Awadh he could go on his way without entering Patna. To this Mustapha Khan insolently replied, "that he thought it incumbent upon him to destroy heretics like Mahabat Jung, and as the scripture sayeth,"territory is for him who can conquer it, there was no occasion for the imperial grant." He concluded by asking as to by what authority was his uncle supported in seizing Bengal, and murdering his sovereign, Sarfaraz Khan.[17] The battle was joined and Haibat Khan's army suffered heavy losses, but when Mustapha Khan's elephant driver was killed he alighted to mount a horse and this spread panic in his army which began to fall back. With difficulty he collected his men again and in the fight that ensued he was wounded in the eye and his two principal officers killed. He left the field and entered the territory of Safdar Jung and encamped under the walls of Chunar. Mahabat Jung who had arrived on the scene decided not to pursue the rebel for fear of giving offence to Safdar Jung.

Before he returned to Patna the news was received of a Marahatha army proceeding to Bengal under Raghuji Bhonsla who had been encouraged by Mustapha Khan. Leaving Haibat Jung to defend Patna, the Nawab hastened to Murshidabad. He wanted to buy off the Marahathas and prevent their entry into Bengal but the Marahathas demanded three crore of rupees as the price of withdrawal from Bengal. Mahabat Jung could not meet this demand but to gain time continued to parley with the Marahathas who were encamped at Burdawn. Another attempt by Mustapha Khan to capture Bihar resulted in his defeat and death which considerably relieved the pressure on Mahabat Jung. From his capital he wrote to Raghuji : "Those who seek peace from an enemy, are guided either by a sense of their own loss or inferiority, or hopes of advantage, but praised be God, the heroes of the faith feel no dread of encountering infidels. Peace therefore depends upon this. When the lions of Islam shall engage the monsters of idolatry, they shall swim in the blood of each other, and struggle till one party shall be overpowered and beg for quarter." Raghuji replied, "that to reach this crisis he had already advanced near a thousand miles from his own country, but the Navob

had not yet moved one hundred to do him the honour of a meeting." Mahabat Jung replied ; "That the rainy season being arrived, and Raghuji having suffered fatigue and inconvenience from his long march, it would be prudent for him to spend the inclement months in some convenient spot that his troops might refresh, and prepare for engagement in the dry season, when he would respectfully wait upon him, even in his own dominions."[18] The Marahathas in the mean-time reduced the province of Orissa and most of Burdawan to ruin by their systematic depredations.

In the winter of 1754 Mahabat Khan issued out of his capital to fight the Marahathas who had moved into Bihar to join the remnant of the army of Mustapha Khan now commanded by his son, Murtaza Khan. The Marahathas crossed the river Soane and Mahabat followed them and encamped on the bank of the river at Mohibalipur. In the skirmishes that followed he defeated the Marahathas and in one of the engagements would have captured the Marahatha leader but for the treachery of two of his officers who allowed him to escape. The Marahathas advised by Mir Habib made a dash for Murshidabad to plunder the place before Mahabat Jung could return to its rescue. The latter by equally swift marches reached the capital in time to save it. The Marahathas retired to Kutwah. They were defeated and forced to retreat to Midnapur. Raghuji left for Berar leaving Mir Habib and the Afghan chiefs to defend Cuttack. Mahabat Jung for the present postponed the design of recovering Cuttack. He dismissed from his service officers who had been suspected of treachery or criminal neglect of duty. Soon after he celebrated the marriage of his grandsons, Sirajuddaulah and Ikramuddaulah, the son of Sarfaraz Khan, with great pomp. "Upwards of two thousand rich dresses were distributed on this occasion among the attendants at court, and during a whole month, the populace were feasted at the expense of the Navob. The magnificence of these nuptials, the brilliant illuminations, splendid pageants, and grand processions of the bridegrooms, are still spoken of with admiration by the inhabitants of Bengal."[19]

Mahabat Jung after a short repose decided to drive out the Marahathas from Cuttack. Mir Jaffar was appointed Mir Bakhshi and given the command of the army which was to be sent to Orissa. Mir Jafar proceeded to Midnapore, engaged and defeated a Marahatha

force and being much addicted to luxury and indolence "stayed on there against the express order of the Nawab." In the meantime a large Marahatha army entered Cuttack. Mir Jafar retreated to Burdawan with the Marahathas at his heels plundering his baggage and harrassing the rear of the army. Mahabat Jung sent Ata Ullah Khan with reinforcements, Mir Jafar had himself prepared to march against the enemy, Ata Ullah defeated the Marahathas at Burdawan but having designs on nawabship he began to corrupt his officers, particularly Mir Jafar whom he promised the government of Bihar in case of his help in securing the *masnad.* Mir Jafar did not fall in with the proposal. Mahabat Khan on his arrival at Burdawan severely reprimanded Mir Jafar who in his annoyance had stayed away from attendance at the Darbar. Ata Ullah Khan demanded the command of a thousand horse for Mir Ali Asghar who had gallantly fought against the Marahathas and had caught the fancy of Ata Ullah for having prophesied his accession to nawabship. This request was refused and Ata Ullah left the army. Mir Jafar continued to be insolently cool towards Mahabat Jung who now asked him to render accounts of his office. Mir Jafar refused to comply with this order and Mahabat Jung divested him of all his offices, ordered him to leave the army and retire to the capital. Mahabat Jung continued the military operations against the Marahathas whom he defeated in serereal engagements and forced them to fall back to Midnapore.

After the rains, Mahabat Jung prepared to march against the Marahathas and encamped at Amanigang. While stationed there he heard of an insurrection in Bihar, the assassination of his nephew Haibat Jung and the captivity and disgraceful death of his brother, Haji Ahmad. Two Afghan chiefs, Shamsher Khan and Sardar Khan, who had been earlier discharged from the Nawab's service had been living in their jagirs in Darbhangha with their followers. They had a big following and Haibat Khan in order to enlist their support to further his own interests had recommended to the Nawab to readmit them to his service. The Nawab after some reluctance consented to this proposal. The two chiefs received the offer with satisfaction and came to the bank of the Ganges opposite Patna. Haibat Khan highly pleased with the acceptance of his proposal paid a visit to the camp of the two chiefs and made arrangements for their crossing over to

the other side of the Ganges. Haibat Khan again visited the chiefs who were expected to return the visit. Sardar Khan was the first to come. All passed off quietly. On the following day Shamsher Khan was to come to pay his respects with a large number of his followers. His officers were received by Haibat Jung who noticing the absence of Shamsher Khan inquired about him. While Haibat Khan was distributing betels amongst his guests, at a pre-arranged signal he was cut down by an Afghan and the men of Shamsher Khan took possession of the palace and the town. Great excesses were committed in the city. Haji Ahmad was captured and interrogated about his treasures. He was tortured for seventeen days till the old man expired. Sixty lakhs of rupees were found buried in his house besides jewels and other valuables. The wife of Haibat Jung, Amina Begum, was carried away to the camp of Shamsher Khan. Heavy contribution was exacted from the people of Patna. This was a critical time for Mahabat Jung. He had lost Bihar, his brother, nephew and daughter. He was threatened by the Marahathas but in this hour of trial he "did not lose his intrepidity of mind but sustained the storms of calamity with manly resolution and prepared to combat the attacks of misfortune." He convened a meeting of his nobles, apprised them of the situation and his determination to punish the traitors. He gave them the choice to follow him or stay away if they so liked. As the Marahathas were already on the move he asked the inhabitants of Murshidabad to stay there or go over to a place of safety as he could not guarantee protection to them. Leaving Saulat Jung behind him to keep open the line of communications and restoring Mir Jafar to favour again, he marched to Monghir. Ata Ullah Khan in this hour of dire distress kept up secret communications with the rebels. Several zamindars of Bihar joined Mahabat Jung. The Afghans had moved from Patna and were joined by Janojee and Mir Habib. Shamsher Khan was invested with the robes of the subadari of Bihar. When Mir Habib visited Shamsher Khan again, the wily Afghan, made arrangements for preventing his return to his camp and held him as a hostage for the payment of expenses for maintaining the army he had raised. Mir Habib had to pay a large amount and give security of merchants to pay more before he was allowed to depart. This growing suspicion between the allies was good for

Mahabat Jung. He attacked the rebels, defeated and routed them after Sardar Khan and Shamsher Khan had been killed in battle. The Marahathas who had planned to strike at the rear of Mahabat Khan's army, on hearing of the rout of the Afghans, withdrew from the field without striking a blow. The Nawab took possession of the deserted Afghan camp and recovered his daughter and other members of the family. He proceeded to Patna where he distributed large sums in thanksgiving to God for the almost bloodless victory he had won. Unlike his enemies he treated the families of the principal insurgents with rare kindness, courtesy and generosity. The families of the Afghans were brought from Darbhanga and lodged in his own palace and later set at liberty. The family of Mir Habib was similarly furnished with money and sent with an escort to the enemy's camp. Mahabat Khan returned to Murshidabad in triumph. He was fully aware of the treachery of Ata Ullah Khan and directed him to leave his dominions permitting him to carry with him all his effects and seventy lacs of rupees which he had amassed during his service under Safdar Jung. The Marahathas had retired to Midnapore. Janojee left for Nagpur leaving Mir Habib to defend Cuttack.

In 1747 Mahabat Jung went out of his capital to drive the Marahathas away from Cuttack. The town was evacuated by the Marahathas and Mahabat Jung pursued them from place to place without fighting the Marahathas who avoided a battle in the open. When he returned to Midnapore the Marahathas returned and occupied Orissa. Bengal however escaped their depredations.

Siraj-ud-Daulah, his grandson, whom Mahabat Jung loved to distraction, left Murshidabad to take possession of Patna and assume independence. This came as a rude shock to the grandfather. He left Midnapore for Murhsidabad and staying there for one day he went after the rash and misguided young man. He wrote to Siraj-ud-Daulah to return as he had decided to appoint him his successor. "Serauj-ud-Dowlah wrote an insolent reply, in which he accused the navob of promoting his uncles to offices of trust, and treating him only with pretended fondness, that he was weary of being controlled like a child, and since he would not give him a share in authority, he was resolved to seize what he regarded as his just right. Therefore, he hoped his grandfather would not attempt to oppose him, as the

consequence must be, that either he would have his head in his bosom, or his own must be laid at the feet of the elephant of Mahabat Jung."[20]

The Nawab returned for answer, "that Siraj-ud-Daulah through imprudence and want of judgment had causelessly accused him of want of regard, for he not only intended him the succession to his own dominions, but the government of the Empire could he obtained for him". He concluded his letter with the following sentences. "The religious champion, eager for martyrdom, is unmindful that the martyr to love exceeds him. In the last day they will not be compared together, for one is slain by an enemy, but the other by a friend."[21] Siraj-ud-Daulah marched to Patna and called upon its governor, Raja Janojee Ram to surrender the town to him. The latter refused to comply and decided to defend the town. In the battle that ensued Siraj-ud-Daulah's principal officers were killed and his soldiers fled the field, Siraj-ud-Daulah finding refuge in a house in the suburbs. Chastened by his recent defeat and discomfiture he returned to his doting grandfather who received him with the usual affection. The Nawab now marched back to Murshidabad. He fell ill on the way and after having recovered he resumed his military operations against the Marahathas. After protracted desultory warfare which was telling on his health and resources he concluded a peace treaty with the Marahathas surrendering to them Orissa and paying the *chauth* for Bengal amounting to an annual charge of twelve lakhs of rupees.

Ali Vardi Khan now devoted himself to repair the ravages caused by recent disturbances. He reduced the strength of the army, encouraged the rebuilding of villages, reppopulating them and restoring the confidence of the people. Greater power was given to Siraj-ud-Daulah who misused it by destroying those against whom he had any personal grudge without Ali Vardi Khan trying to restrain him. "These acts of cruelty estranged from him, the minds of the people and prepared the way for his own future destruction." The last days of Mahabat Jung were darkened by the senseless and wayward excesses of his grandson, and the death of his nephews, Shahamat Jung[22] and Saulat Jung[23] in 1755. Shahamat Jung was possessed of many good qualities and was held in high esteem for his clemency and charity towards the

poor and his friendliness towards them. Saulat Jung had proved himself a good soldier and administrator and won the esteem of the people of Purnea by his prudence and humanity.

Mahabat Jung who was now eighty years of age was afflicted with dropsy. Realising that his end was near he refused to take medicines. He died on 10 April, 1756. His daughter Ghaseeti Begum, widow of Shahamat Jung, had earlier moved to Moti Jheel hoping to retain her position after the death of her father.

Of the numerous military adventurers whom the disturbed and unstable political conditions in India placed on the stage, Ali Vardi Khan has a place in the first rank for his qualities as a soldier, statesman and administrator. Humane, kind and generous to the fallen foe, brave in battle and wise in council, solicitious of the welfare of his people he dominated the politics of eastern India for nearly a quarter of a century. He was the only ruler who kept the Marahathas at bay and only when, broken in body and spirit with disloyal officers about him, he surrendered Orissa to the Marahathas. It was done to save his province from devastation by a relentless enemy who gave no quarter and delighted in reckless destruction.

Mahabat Jung was not addicted to wine, the common weakness of the upper classes, or to opium. He had no ear for music or fondness for the company of courtesans. He said his prayers regularly. His usual routine was to get up two hours before sunrise, offer his prayers and take coffee with his select companions. After this his civil and military officers and petitioners were admitted to audience. This went on for two hours after which he returned to a private apartment where his confidants joined him. Here he would listen to poetry and historical anecdotes read out to him. He appears to have been fond of good food and personally issued instructions for the food which was to be served to him. Here he also met officers of state and issued instructions for the discharge of their duties. After his midday meal he would rest for a short while and then say his prayers and read the Quran. He would then spend some time in the company of Muslim divines and other learned men. This was followed by reports from the capital and different parts of his dominions which were presented to him. He received the revenue officers and bankers along with Jagat Seth to discuss with them financial matters.

After the conduct of official business he would spend some time with buffoons and jesters. He would then spend some time with members of his family and after prayers retire to bed early. "He was unequalled in his benevolence to his relations, friends, and former acquaintances in his lower fortunes, particularly to those who had shown him the smallest kindness when he was distressed at Dehli in his youth, sending for them or their children to his court, and conferring favours upon them beyond their expectations. The people at large during his life experienced such care and satisfaction from his gentle administration, as could not be exceeded by the indulgence of a parent, while at the same time the lowest of his officers grew rich in his service. He was indulgent in all affairs, and encouraged the deserving of every profession. Affable in manners, wise in state affairs, courageous as a general, he possessed also every noble quality."[24]

A soldier and administrator by profession, he patronized arts and men of letters. Sarkar gives a long list of scholars proficient in different branches of learning who received favours from him. The more important of them were, Maulvi Nasir Ali Khan, his son Daud Ali Khan, Zakir Husain Khan, Mir Muhammnd Alim, Maulvi Muhammad Arif, Mir Rustam Ali, Shah Muhammad Amin, Shah Adham, Hayat Beg, Shah Khizr, Sayyid Mir Muhammad Sajjad, Sayyid Alimullah, (the grandfather of the historian Ghulam Husain), Shah Haidari (a maternal uncle of Ghulam Husain's paternal grandfather) and Qazi Ghulam Muzaffar whom Ali Vardi elevated to the office of the supreme judge of Murshidabad. Azimabad (Patna) was an important centre of Persian education and some scholars from Persia came to settle there in his time.[25]

Ali Vardi Khan's efforts to promote peace and prosperity in the *subah,* to encourage trade and commerce, to extend cultivation and patronise men of learning and piety were handicapped by the internal situation, the rebellions of the Afghans and the devastation wrought by the annual incursions of the Marahathas. An idea of the nature and extent of the destruction wrought by the Marahathas may be read in contemporary reports of English factors as well as a Hindu eye witnesses' account "They committed the most horrid devastation and cruelties, fed their horses and cattle with mulberry plantations and thereby

irreparably injured the silk manufacture. A general state of ruin succeeded ; many of the inhabitants, weavers and husbandmen, fled. The *arangs* (silk and cloth factories and emporia) were in a great degree deserted, the lands untilled...The manufacture of *arangs* received so injurious a blow at this period, that they have ever since lost their original purity and estimation, and probably will never recover them again. Every evil attending destructive war, was felt by this unhappy country in the most eminent degree—a scarcity of grain in all parts, the wages of labour greatly enhanced, trade, foreign and inland, labouring under every disadvantage and oppression."[26]

Gangaram, an eye witness, thus describes the sufferings of the people : "Every class of people took to flight with their property... when suddenly the *bargirs*[27] came up and encircled them in the plain. They snatched away gold and silver, rejecting everything else. Of some people they cut off the hands, of some the noses and ears, some they killed outright. They draggged away the beautiful women...The *bargirs* after thus committing all sinful acts, set these women free. After looting in the open, they entered the villages and set fire to the houses...and roamed about on all sides plundering...They constantly shouted 'Give us rupees, give us rupees, give us rupees.' When they got no rupee. they filled their victims' nostrils with water, or drowned them in tanks...It was only after crossing the Bhagirathi that the people found safety."[28] Inspite of these difficulties the "condition of the peasantry in Bengal in the middle of the Eighteenth century compared not unfavourably with that of the same class in France or Germany."

European Designs Against Muslim Government

Dr. Basu gives details of a scheme for the conquest of Bengal, Behar and Orissa formulated by Colonel Mill and submitted to the European ruler : "The Moghul Empire is overflowing with gold and silver. She has always been feeble and defenceless. It is a miracle that no European prince with a m ritime power has ever attempted the conquest of Bengal. By a single stroke infinite wealth might be acquired, which would counterbalance the mines of Brazil and Peru. ..."The policy of the Moghuls is bad, their army is worse, they are without a navy. The Empire is exposed to perpetual revolts. Their

ports and rivers are open to foreigners. The country might be conquered, or laid under contribution, as easily as the Spaniards overhelmed the naked Indians of America.

"A rebel subject, named Ali vardi Khan, has torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa from the Moghul Empire He has treasure to the value of thirty millions sterling. His yearly revenue must be at least two millions. The provinces are open to the sea. Three ships with fifteen hundred or two thousand regulars would suffice for the undertaking. The British nation would co-operate for the sake of the pulnder and the promotion of their trade. The East India Company should be left alone. No Company can keep a secret. Moreover, the English Company is so distracted as to be incapable of any firm resolution."[29]

The Seths in Bengal :

The secret machinations of the English and their seducing the Hindu officers, bankers and merchants from their loyalty to Muslim government set the stage for the revolution in Bengal after the death of Ali vardi Khan. According to Hill, "But it would seem," wrote he "as if there was at this time a revival of Hindu feeling coincident with the gradual weakening of the Muhammadan power throughout India as a whole and more particularly in Bengal. Thus, we find that the partisans of the British werer almost all Hindus or proteges of the Hindus. The fact that the commerce and manufactures of the country were almost entirely in the hands of the Hindus naturally brought them into close connection with the European merchants, who had settled in the country for the purpose of trade, and so produced a kind of tacit alliance based mainly upon their material interests."[30]

Ali vardi Khan had secured the services and collaboration of several Hindu officers who were entrusted with civil and military offices. Amongst the Hindus in his service a very significant role was played by Hindu bankers and merchants. The seths had been appointed bankers to the Mughul Emperor in 1713 and Ali vardi Khan was reported to have obtained the rank and title of the Nawab of Bihar in 1736 through Seth Manak Chand's influence with Delhi.[31] The grandsons of Jagat Seth, Seth Mahtab Rai and Seth Sarup Chand were the richest and most powerful merchants of the time. The great banking house known as that of the Jagat Seths was founded by Manik Chand in Bengal

during Alamgir's reign and rose to prominence under Murshid Quli Khan who used to send the annual revenue to Delhi through the agency of Manik Chand who had "kothis" in Agra and Delhi. Manik Chand died in 1722 and his nephew Fath Chand who succeeded him received the title of Jagat Seth from Farrukhsiyar before his accession to the throne. Fath Chand died in 1744 and was succeeded by his two grandsons Mahtab Chand and Sarup Chand. The former received the title of Jagat Seth who was highly respected by Ali Vardi Khan and the Hindu business community. Under Mahtab Chand "this banking house reached the zenith of its prosperity." Even the English and other European countries used to borrow money from the Seths. "Their riches were so great that no such bankers were ever seen in Hindustan or Deccan, nor were there any bankers or merchants that could stand a comparison with them all over India. It is even certain, that all the bankers of their time in Bengal were either their factors or some of their family. Their wealth may be guessed by this only : "In the first invasion of the Marahathas and when Moorshedabad was not yet surrounded by walls, Mir Habib with a party of their best horse, having found means to fall upon that eity before Ali Vardi could come up, carried from Jagat Seth's house two crores of rupees in Arcot coin only and this prodigious sum did not affect the two brothers, more than if it had been two trusses of straw. They continued to give afterwards to the Government, as they had done before, bills of exchange called *durshunnis* of one crore at a time."[32]

Relation with European Tarding Companies

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century the English, the French and the Dutch had established their factories in Bengal, then the richest province of the Mughul Empire and reputed as the Paradise of India. The three towns on the Ganges, Calcutta, Chandernagar and Chinsurah with prosperous factories of the English, French and Dutch established there, were considered the most handsome towns in Bengal. Other European factories were established at Kasim Bazar, Dacca and Balasore. Ali Vardi Khan, "that strong and politic ruler" forbade any fortificatin of the factories except such as was necessary to protect them against the incursions of the Marahathas

but guaranteed peace and security to the foreign traders and encouraged commerce. The English Company was the richest and most prosperous and had continued to enjoy the status of the most favoured nation since the time of Farrukhsiyar. Ali Vardi Khan was often advised to reduce the status of the European to that of mere traders like the Armenians. "But Ali Vardi Khan, whether owing to the enfeeblement of his energies by age or to an intelligent recognition of the value of European commerce, would not allow any steps to be taken against the Europeans. Many stories are told of the debates in his Darbar on this subject. According to one, he is reported to have compared the Europeans to bees who produce honey when left in peace, but furiously attack those who foolishly disturb them. According to another story he compared them to a fire which had come out of the sea and was playing harmlessly on the shore, but which would devastate the whole land if anyone were so imprudent as to anger it.,'[33]

Ali Vardi Khan was particular about maintaining his prestige as the Nawab of Bengal. "He was," writes M. Jean Law, "zealous of his authority. He especially affected a great independence whenever there was question of any affair between himself and the Europeans. To speak to him of *farmans* or of privileges obtained from the Emperor was only to anger him. He knew well how to say at the proper moment that he was both King and wazir...He saw with equal indignation and surprise the progress of the French and the English nations on the Coromandal coast as well as in the Deccan, for he, by means of his spies, was informed of everything that happened there...He feared that sooner or latter the Europeans would attempt similar enterprises in his government."[34]

Though he permitted the English to dig a moat round the northern half of Calcutta he refused to permit them to increase their fortifications in 1744. "You are merchants," he told them, "what need have you of a forthress ? Being under my protection you have no enemies to fear." After the Marahatha incursions he compelled the Europeans merchants to contribute to the expenses of his army engaged against the Marahathas. The English were required in July 1744 to pay 30 lakhs of rupees. To insure payment he arrested some of the *gomashtas* and placed his own guards on their coarse cloth factories. After prolonged negotiations a settlement was effected, the Eng-

lish paying three lakhs and a half with smaller contribution in addition by other of their factories. His sense of justice and fair play and an appreciation of the growing strength of the Europeans prevented him from despoiling them of the fruits of their trade. When Mustpha Khan and his nephew advised him "to despoil the Europeans of their riches he is reported to have replied. "My child, Mustafa Khan is a soldier, and wishes us to be constantly in need of his services, but how come you to join in his request ? What have the English done against me that I should use them ill ? It is not difficult to extinguish fire on land, but should the sea be in flames, who can put them out ? Never listen to such advice as his for the result would probably be fatal."[35]

In 1749 the English Commodore seized the goods of an Armenian merchant. When the latter appealed to Ali Vardi Khan he prevented the English from trading for six months. The English agreed to "express satisfaction (to the Armenians) regarding the losses sustained by them in a public darbar held by the Nawab on the 15th October, 1749. They further paid one lakh and fifty thousand rupees to the Nawab. The latter had several complaints against the English for the flagrant abuse of their privileges to the detriment of the state. Captain Rannee writing in 1756 thus stated the case of the Nawab's government : "The injustice to the Moors (the natives) consists in that, being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants, and to trade custom free—we under that pretence protected all the Nabob's (Nawab's) subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants nor our merchants, and gave our *dustucks* or passes to number of natives to trade custom free, to the great prejudice of the Nabob's revenue, nay more, we levied large duties upon goods brought into our districts from the very people that permitted us to trade custom free, and by numbers of impositions (framed to raise the Company's revenues, some of which were ruinous to ourselves) —such as taxes on marriages, provisions, transferring land, property etc. — caused eternal clamour and complaints against us at Court."[36]

The English irritated by the firm and strict attitude of the Nawab to stand on his rights contemplated to go to war with the Nawab and "swing the old dog." The death of the Nawab on 10 April 1756 pre-

vented such a contingency. Mr. Holwel reported that Ali Vardi Khan on his death bed had given the following advice to his son : "Keep in view the power the European nations have in the country. This fear I would also have freed you from if God had lengthened my days. The work, my son, must now be yours. Their wars and politics in the Telinga country should keep you waking. On pretence of private contests between their kings they have seized and divided the country of the king (i.e. the Mughul Emperor) and the goods of his people between them. Think not to weaken all three together. The power of the English is great, they have lately conquered Angria, and possessed themselves of his country ; reduce them first, the others will give you little trouble, when you have reduced them. Suffer them not, my son, to have fortifications or soldiers; if you do, the country is not yours."[37] This speech is regarded by competent authorities as a specious fable as Holwell was notorious for his "habit of inventing stories or fabricating facts to suit his motives."[38]

Mir Ghulam Hosain thus describes his character and achievements : "Owing, however to the black ingratitude of which he had been guilty towards his lord and benefactor's son, the person of Ali Vardi Khan was at first viewed with sentiments of detestation, for his real worth was not then known, but in time he displayed many virtues. He maintained a moral character. He treated the nobility and the chiefs with so much kindness, he acted with such condescension and dignity both to his friends and to strangers, he applied himself so earnestly to gain the hearts both of the powerful and defenceless, he evinced such a lively sense of gratitude for the services rendered him by those attached to his person, he paid so much regard to the rights of distant consanguinity or old acquaintance, he had so much commiseration for the poor, and paid so much attention to the oppressed, and evinced such generosity in the forgiveness of personal injuries, that he proved in the end to be a great governor and excellent man. A total alteration gradually took place in public opinion regarding him, and those who at first could not bear to look on him, became in time so fascinated with his amiable deportment, and so attached to his person, that few instances have been observed in his time or in any other of such strong attachment."[39]

REFERENCES

CHAPTER VI

1. Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, pp. 751-53.
2. Later named Murshidabad in 1704.
3. See Sarkar, History of Bengal, Vol. II, University of Dacca, 1948, pp. 401-403. and Abdul Karim, Murshid Quli Khan and his times, Dacca, 1963, pp. 19-20.
4. Sarkar, History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 401.
5. The Prince had been hoarding wealth for the expected civil war after the death of Alamgir. When he left Bengal he carried with him 8 krors ot rupees. Bunda Khan gave the governor a trade on many precious objects as well.
6. See Abdul Karim, pp. 74-93. Sarkar, History of Bengal, II, pp. 403-417.
7. Quoted by Sarkar, History of Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 410-411.
8. See Salim Ullah, quoted by Sarkar, pp. 420-421.

8a. Riyaz-us Salatin, p. 283.

9. Dr. A. Karim, Murshid Quli Khan and His Times,
10. He copied the Quran and sent the copies to holy places outside the country and to shrines in Bengal.
11. Sarkar, Vol. II, p. 424, Siyar, English translation, Vol. I, p.325.
12. See Hunter, History of Orissa, Vol. II, Appendix 190.
13. The Ostend Company was organized by the merchants of Flanders and formally chartered in 1722. The Company had been permitted by Murshid Quli Khan to establish a factory at Bankebazar, 15 miles above Calcutta.
14. Shore's Minute, dated 18th June, in Firminger's Fifth report II, p. 9, Quoted by Sarkar, History of Bengal, p. 434.
15. Scott, "Ferishta's History of the Dekhan" Vol. II, p. 315, London, 1794.
16. Scott, p. 334.
17. Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 337.
18. Ibid. p. 340.
19. Ibid, p. 342.
20. Ibid, p. 352.
21. Ibid, p. 252-53.
22. He was the son of Haji Ahmad.
23. Mohammaddaula Saulat Jang. His name was Said Ahmad Khan. He was the son of Mirza Ahmad and had married Amina Begum, the daughtar of Ali Vardi Khan.

24. Scott, op. cit. p. 357.
25. Sarkar, pp. 440-49, Siyar, ii, 611-620.
26. Quoted by Sarkar, History of Bengal, p. 457.
Holwell, Interesting Historical Events, 2nd Ed: 1766, part I, pp. 121-151.
27. Corruption of the word Bargir.
28. Sarkar, p. 457.
Commenting on the methods of the Marahathas, M. Law observed. "The Marahathas carried off more than twenty times as much as our own men, observing among themselves a kind of order in their plundering very like that of monkeys when they strip a field." (Three Frenchmen in Bengal by H.C. Hill, London, 1903, p. 121.
29. Bolts' Considerations of the Affairs of Bengal, Appendix, Hol. Basu, Rise of the Christian Power in India, pp. 61-62.
30. Ibid.
31. Michael Edward, The Battle of Plassey, p. 21.
32. J.C. Sinha, Economic Annals of Bengal, pp. 15.
33. H.C. Hill, Three Frenchmen in Bengal, pp. 3-4.
34. Quoted by Sarkar, History of Bengal, p. 451.
35. Quoted by Michael Edwards in The Battle of Plassey, Macmillan, New York, 1963, p. 23. Soett, II, p. 358.
36. Ibid. pp. 23-24
37. Basu, op. cit, p. 66.
38. For Ali Vardi's last advice to Siraj see Muzaffarnamah, Fol. 101 b, for his opinion about Siraj, see, Siyar II, p. 156.
39. Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, see Raymond's translation, II, pp. 157-164.

Addittional Note :

Ali Verdi or Allah Verdi 'Verdi' a Turkish word means a "gift of God" and is written as علی یا اللہ ویردی -

CHAPTER VII

SIRAJ-UD-DAULAH

Ali Vardi Khan died without a male issue. He had three daughters who were married to his three nephews, Zain-ud-Din, Nawazish Muhammad and Sayyid Ahmad. The youngest daughter, Amina Begum had been married to Zain-ud-Din from whom she had a son born in 1729, who was named Mirza Muhammad. Ali Vardi Khan was appointed deputy Governor of Behar a few days after the birth of his grandson and ascribed his good fortune to Mirza Muhammad's auspicious birth. The old man doted on the child. Zain-ud-Din was killed in a battle in 1747 and after that Ali Vardi Khan took Mirza Muhammad under his personal care. As he grew in years he became wayward and senslessly ambitious. He rebelled against his grandfather but failed and was pardoned. All the three brothers of Ali Vardi Khan had predeceased him and Mirza Muhammad was the only serious claimant to the masnad of Bengal. In 1752 he was publicly declared his successor by Ali Vardi Khan who gave him the title of Siraj-ud-Daulah on this occasion. In his youth he was indisciplined and given to pleasures. He does not appear to have received any systematic education and had no experience of civil or military affairs deep as he was in the affections of his grandfather. An Englishman described him as a "youngman, violent, passionate, of great ambition tinctured with avarice" This child of destiny, the apple of Ali Vardi's eyes was destined by circumstances beyond his control to bring ruin and untold misery to his family and his subjects and set the stage for the conquest of India by the British.

Siraj-ud-Daulah's claim to succession was not undisputed. Ghasiti Begum, daughter of Ali Vardi Khan and the widow of his nephew Nawazish Muhammad, was an ambitious woman and was reputed to be very rich. She had shifted to Motijheel near Murshidabad and adopted Murad-ud-Daulah, an infant son of a deceased brother of Siraj-ud-Daulah, Akram-ud-Daulah, and aspired to raise him to Nawabship. She had won over a large section of the army and collected

"all sorts of arms and ammunitions." Husain Quli Khan,a nobleman of Ali Vardi Khan had great influence over her and was reported to be her lover. Siraj-ud-Daulah who feared Husain Quli Khan had him murdered on the high street. Siraj-ud-Daulah then made a sudden attack on Motijheel and easily scattered the retainers of his aunt. Her immense riches fell into his hands. She was taken prisoner but her life was spared and she passed her days in the *zanana* of Siraj's palace. The only rival left was Shaukat Jung, son of his uncle Sayyid Ahmad, then Faujdar of Purnea. In the middle of May 1756 Siraj-ud-Daulah advanced against him and without a fight forced him to submit. According to Jean Law the English had been during this year plotting against the Nawab and secretly assisting his enemies. "It was," wrote Law, "in the effervescence of these troubles that the English gave Siraj-ud-Daulah reason for complaint against them. Always led away by the idea that he would not have sufficient influence to get himself recognised as Subahdar, they carried on correspondence with the Begum...It is even said they had understanding with the Nawab of Purneah."[1]

Siraj next turned his attention to the English. The latter had been busy with the extension of fortifications of their factory and fort during the latter years of Ali Vardi Khan. The latter had heard with indignation and surpirise of what was happening in the south and he did not intend the southern drama at Arcot to be enacted in Bengal. He had asked the British to desist from raising further fortifications but he had died before he could do anything to enforce his orders. Siraj-ud-Daulah received information from his secret agent, Raja Ram Singh about the building of a new fort by the English (in fact the repair of the redoubt in Perron's garden). Naraindas Singh was sent to Calcutta to make secret inquiries into the activities of the English. He entered Calcutta dressed as a hawker[2] but was detected and expelled from the city. Drake is reportad to have received the Nawab's parwanah, torn it and then thrown it in the face of the messenger. Naraindas on his return saw the Nawab and reported: "Your Excellency, now our good name and prestige are at stake. An odd handful of hatted tradesmen who have not yet learned to clean themselves with water, dare to insult and expel my Lord the Nawab's messenger. Where do your devoted slaves stand unless something is done about this at once ?"[3] Siraj-ud-Daulah who was then on his way to Purnea returned to the capital

where he received a letter from Governor Drake which he considered unsatisfactory. The insult to his messenger he could hardly forgive or forget. He had already a grievance against the English for not having congratulated him on his accession or sent him the customary compliments and presents. Another cause of his resentment was the refusal of the English to hand over to Siraj-ud-Daulah, Krishna Das-son of Raj Ballabh who had fled to Calcutta with his father's treasures and sought asylum with the English. Raj Ballabh was immensely rich and had acted as deputy at Dacca for Nawazish Muhammad and was the custodian of his treasures. During the last illness of Ali Vardi Khan when Siraj-ud-Daulah deputised for him he was put in prison and called upon to give account of the revenues of Dacca. Raj Ballabh and his son, Krishna Das "had served under Ali Vardi Khan for many years, and as there was greater reason to apprehend they had been guilty of many frauds and amassed immense treasures by oppression and other unjust ways, an account of their administration was demanded by Siraj-ud-Daulah to know what was become of the King's revenues collected by them for some years past. Raj Ballabh no sooner got intelligence of what was going forward but makes interest with Mr. Watts to get protection for his son and treasure in Calcutta, which was granted him and also for his whole family. By the time everything was secured the Nabob became more pressing with Raj Bullabh and positive orders given him to immediately obey, and deliver him the accounts he demanded. When he acquainted the Nabob that his son was fled and taken protection with the English with everything appertaining to him, which rendered it impossible for him to comply with his demands, and as it was currently affirmed that he had carried off with him full fifty-three lacks of rupees, the Nabob to outward appearance made a point in having him delivered up, which the Council (Fort William Council) were made acquainted with, both by messages from the Nabob as well as from many of the principal people at the Durbar."[4]

Added to these grievances and slights he had received from the English, were the complaints he was constantly receiving from his subjects about the hardships suffered by his subjects who had to deal with the English[5] and the loss in revenue which the state was suffering from the misuse of the concessions granted to the English by the Mughuls.

In the words of J. Holwell "The continual abuse of the Company's *dusticks* by their servants, has been for the space of forty years last past, another great cause for repeated just complaints from the Durbar, for thereby the Emperor was robbed of his legal customs on a considerable proportion of the trade of the provinces...Your *dusticks* was sold at various prices, from 200 to 25 rupees each, and to such a shameful prostitution did this trade in *dusticks* come to, that it was no uncommon thing to see on the register a trade of two lack per annum carried on in appearance by persons known never to have been worth five pounds, in their lives, nor they had credit to this amount in your Presidency..."[6]

Siraj-ud-Daulah was not unaware of all these malpractices and when he received reports from his spies he would say that he had *dastak* account to settle with the English. Siraj-ud-Daulah in 1756 declared "he would prove from vouchers in his possession that the English had defrauded the King in his revenues, by covering the trade of his subjects with their *Dusticks,* to the amount of one crore and a half (one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling) in the space of fifty years."[7]

The court of Directors was fully aware of the malpractices of their servants and in spite of the standing orders—25 in number—issued between 1702-1756, the abuse of concessions granted by the rules could not be put to an end.[8]

Ram Gopal thus sums up the situation with which Siraj-ud-Daulah was faced vis-a-vis the English :

"Such was the East India Company whom Siraj-ud-Daulah had to face upon his accession to the Nawabship of Bengal seemingly intriguing in state politics, abusing the custom free privileges to the detriment of the state exchequer, oppressing Indians in the zamindari, which it had obtained by questionable means, making daring encroachments on the right of those who lived outside of that zamindari. And his problem was how to deal with the Company."[9]

Siraj-ud-Daulah ordered the English and the French to demolish the new fortifications at Calcutta and Chandernagar. The English were further ordered to fill up the ditch they had started digging round Calcutta. The French complied with the order but the English did not. According to Law :

"...The English made a very offensive reply to his order. I did not see it but trustworthy persons assure me it was so. The rumour ran that Mr. Drake replied to the (Nawab's) spies that, since the Nawab wished to fill up the Ditch, he consented to it, provided it was with the heads of Moors."[10]

The attitude of Siraj-ud-Daulah was so far one of forbearance while that of the English, arrogant and provocatory deliberately intendding to make the Nawab take action against them so that it could serve as an excuse to set fire to the mine they had skilfully laid under the Bengal masnad.

On 28th May Siraj-ud-Daulah wrote to Khoja Wajid, a leading businessman who had good business dealings with the English, explaining his position : "If the English are contented to remain in my country they must submit to have their fort razed, their ditch filled up, and trade upon the same terms they did in the time of the Nabob Jaffeir Cawn (Murshid Quli Khan), otherwise I will expel them entirely out of the provinces of which I am Subahdar, which I swear to do before God and our Prophet. Should any person plead ever so strongly in their behalf it will avail them nothing, as I am fully determind to reduce that nation to the above mentioned conditions and I require that you will not on any account speak in their favour."[11]

This letter intended for a pacificatory settlement had no effect. He decided to attack Kasimbazar hoping that the show of force would soften up the English. On 1 June, 1756 he wrote again to Khoja Wajid exhorting him "to acquaint the English minutely of my resolutions. If they are willing to comply with those terms they may remain, otherwise they will be expelled the country."[12] The English refused to open negotiations or seek a peaceful settlement. "We are informed" wrote Watts and Collet, "by Cossenaut (Kashi Nath) one of the Company's Banyans (Banias) that Omichund and some of the principal merchants offered to contribute considerably toward making up affairs. Coja Wazeed, the greatest marchant in Bengal who resides at Hoghley and has great influence with the Nabob, his *duan* (diwan) told us that he went four time to Calcutta in order to persuade the gentlemen to make up matters with the Nabob but was threatened to be ill used if he came again on the same errand."[13]

The factory at Kasimbazar was occupied on 24 May 1756. Siraj-ud-Daulah did not touch the Company's effects except the warlike stores. Mr. Watts was taken a prisoner to Calcutta while his wife was permitted to go to the French Settlement. Too late in the day the English sent the Armenian merchant, Khoja Wajid to buy off Siraj-ud-daulah but the latter refused the offer. Wajid returned to Calcutta, Omichand and Krishna Das were imprisoned by the English as the former was a protege of the English but was suspected of carrying on secret negotiations with the Nawab.

The Nawab now marched towards Calcutta covering the distance of 160 miles in eleven days. He opened negotiations with the French for military assistance and promised to hand over Calcutta to them when captured, but the French at Chandernagar told him that it was not possible to give the Nawab the assistance he asked for without orders from Europe, or from Pondichery. The English request for help from the French and the Dutch was also turned down by the two Companies for fear of giving offence to the Nawab. For the English the only hope lay in receiving timely assistance from Madras. Siraj-ud-Daulah still continued negotiations through Wajid and his agent Shiv Das but Drake refused to listen to reason as he had hoped "that Arcot would be repeated in Bengal" and decided to hold on till reinforcements arrived from Madras. He was so sure of victory "that arrangements had been made in Fort William by some to dispose off the booty that would fall in their hands". But Fort William fell after barely three day's fighting. The town was captured on 19 June, Drake and Minchin having deserted and taken refuge at Fulta.

Holwell took over as the governor and administrator of the Company's affairs after the desertion of Drake and Minchin. The Nawab's men continued the attack and retreat by land became impossible for the garrison consisting of 170 men besides the Portuguese and the Armenians left in the fort. The soldiers became unruly and as the number of casualties increased and the ammunition was exhausted, Holwell decided to call for a truce. In the meantime some of the soldiers of the Nawab had scaled the walls and entered the fort. Finding further resistance impossible the English surrendered themselves. Siraj-ud-Daulah entered the fort in a palanquin and ordered that the prisoners should be treated with humanity.

All would have gone well but for the drunken behaviour of some of the European soldiers. The Nawab when he received report of the rowdiness of the soldiers, ordered the prisoners to be locked up for the night in a part of the barracks which had been used by the British as a prison for drunken soldiers and named Black Hole. The Nawab was neither aware of the number of prisoners or the size of the cell said to be 18 feet long and 14 feet wide.[14] One hundred and forty six prisoners including one woman were locked up in this cell. During the night 123 prisoners are reported to have died of suffocation. On the following day when Holwell was taken to him, the Nawab did not permit the torturing of him in order to make him disclose the places where the treasures were supposed to have been concealed by the British. The incident of Black Hole has become "a part of Britain's imperial mythology" and is cited to justify the conduct of the British in displacing Siraj-ud-Daulah for a more pliant successor to the masnad of Bengal and the subsequent conduct of the British. The incident is not mentioned in any contemporary Persian account nor in Clive and Watson's letters to the Nawab. According to S.C. Hill, of the 123 persons reported to have died in prison only the names of 56 could be traced.[15]

He writes "Porbably the reference to the Black Hole is an amplification, for in the careless talk of Calcutta the Black Hole and Fort William seem to have been often confounded.[16] Siraj-ud-Daulah left Calcutta on 24 June for Hugli. Before leaving the fort he had renamed it Alinagar, ordered the erection of a mosque inside it and appointed Manik Chand, a man "presumptous, arrogant, destitute of capacity and wholly without courage" as its governor.[17]

The English factory at Dacca surrendered without a fight. Siraj-ud-Daulah had thus the satisfaction of smashing "the English pride and brought other Europeans under his complete control". He renamed Calcutta as already mentrioned as Alinagar, appointed Manik Chand as its governor and returned to Murshidabad on 24 June 1757. The appointment of a weak commander at Calcutta has been explained away as due to the presumptuousness of Siraj-ud-Daulah who was convinced that the English had been so severely mauled that he had nothing to fear from them in future.

He had made no attempt to attack the boats which carried the fugitives to Fulta. According to Jean Law, Siraj-ud-Daulah "had the most extravagant contempt for Europeans; a pair of slippers, said he, is all that is needed to govern them. Their number, according to him, could not in all Europe come up to more than ten thousand or twelve thousand men. What fear, then, would he have of the English Nation, which assuredly could not present to his mind more than a quarter of the whole? He was therefore, very far from thinking that the English could entertain the idea of re-establishing themselves by force. To humiliate themselves to offer money with one hand, and receive joyously with the other his permission to re-establish themselves was the whole project which he could naturally suppose them to have formed. It is to this idea, without doubt, that the tranquility in which he left them at Fulta is due."[18]

From Calcutta Siraj-ud-Daulah proceeded to Hugli on 25 June, surrounded the town and ordered the Dutch and the French to pay him large sums of money or their settlements would be destroyed. After some negotiations through Khoja Wajid reluctantly the Dutch paid Rs. 450,000 and the French 350,000. Watts and Collet who had been captured from Kasimbazar were set free and sent to Chandernagar. Siraj-ud-Daulah wrote a letter to Mr. Pigot at Madras explaining as to why he had taken such a drastic action against the English at Calcutta: "Director Pigot, of high and great rank, and greatest of the merchants, May you be possessor of the Patcha's (Emperor's) favour.

"It was not my intention to remove the mercantile business of the Company belonging to you from out of the subah of Bengal but Roger Drake, your *gomashta* was a very wicked and unruly man and began to give protection to persons who had accounts with the Patcha in the koatey (factory). Notwithstanding all my admonitions yet he did not desist from his shameless actions. Why should these people who come to transact the mercantile affairs of the Compeny be doers of such actions? However that shameless man has met with the dessert of his actions and was expelled from this subah. I gave leave to Mr. Watts who is a helpless, poor, and innocent man to go to you. As I esteem you to be a substantial person belonging to the Company, I

have wrote these circumstances of his shameless and wicked proceedings. Dated the Ist of Moon Shaval in the 3rd Year of Mogull's reign which is the 30th of June 1756."[19]

Siraj-ud-Daulah returned to his capital on July 11, and informed the Emperor in Delhi of his recent exploits in Bengal against the English "comparable only with the exploits of Tamerlane." In the meantime trouble was brewing against him nearer home. His cousin Shaukat Jung, the Governor of Purneah had submitted to Siraj-ud-Daulah before the latter's attack on Calcutta. Ill educated, addicted to drugs, weak but with vaulting ambition, Shaukat Jung had obtained a *farman* from Delhi appointing him the Nawab of Bengal in place of Siraj-ud-Daulah. When the latter heard of it he marched against Shaukat Jung. In the battle which followed at Rajmahal Shaukat Jung[20] was shot dead and his army quickly surrendered. Siraj-ud-Daulah could now breath a sigh of relief as all the pretenders to the *masnad* had been disposed of.

The refugees at Fulta where they had arrived on 26 June had to undergo considerable hardships for want of adequate supplies and shelter. Governor Drake decided to open negotiations with the Nawab through persons near to him but was informed by Khoja Wajid that if the English "wished to trade on the old terms they would have to use force." The Madras Government received the first news of the war in Bengal on 13 July and of the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-Daulah on 16 August, Kirkpatrick had been sent to Fulta with a small force. He was advised to write to the Nawab through Omi Chand and also to Manik Chand, Khoja Wajid, Rai Durlabh and Jagat Seth but these letters, except the one to Manik Chand, do not appear to have been delivered to the addressees. The Madras Government sent Watson and Clive to the help of English at Fulta—Admiral Watson to command the expedition by sea and Clive by land. Clive before embarking for Bengal wrote to the Madras Council, "I flatter my self that this expedition will not end with the retaking of Calcuatt only : and that the Company's Estate in these parts will be settled in a better and more lasting condition than ever."[21]

The Council at Madras wrote to the Select Committee at Bengal : "The mere retaking of Calcutta should we think by no means be the

end of the undertaking ; not only their (the Company's) settlements and Factories should be restored, but all their privileges established in their full extent granted by the Great Mogul, and ample reparation made of them for the loss they have lately sustained; otherwise we are of opinion it would have been better nothing had been attempted, than to have added the heavy charge of this armament to their former loss, without securing their colonies and trade from future insults and exactions."[22]

Watson left Madras on 16 October, 1756 and reached Hugli on 5 December, 1756. On reaching Hugli Clive wrote a letter to Manik Chand thanking him for the great friendship and regard he had shown to the English Company and his desire to serve the English. Manik Chand in reply sent the draft of a letter which Clive was advised to write to the Nawab. Clive declined to send such a letter. "I am sorry," wrote he, "I cannot consistently with my duty to the Comyany or their honour, accept of your advice in writing to the Nabob a letter couched in such a style, which however proper it might have been before the taking of Calcutta, would but ill suit with the present time, when we are come to demand satisfaction for the injuries done us by the Nabob, not to entreat his favour, and with a force which we think sufficient to vindicate our claims."[23]

Watson and Clive wrote to the Nawab to make "reasonable satisfaction for the losses and injuries they (the English) had suffered." On 28 December Clive left for Maypur while the British ships moved to Budge-Budge. Clive had his first clash with the Nawab's troops under Manik Chand on 29th. The latter was forced to retreat and suffered heavy casualties. The fort was captured and demolished. The English now moved up to Calcutta which they captured. The next move was to capture Hugli which the Nawab could use with advantage against the English. On 9 January, British troops landed below the fort at Hugli and captured it after bombarding it. For nine days the town was given to plunder and then the army returned to Calcutta.

Siraj-ud-Daulah acted with restraint and asked the French and the Dutch to negotiate a settlement with the English. Khoja Wajid sent a letter to the English to the effect that the French should act as intermediaries. To this Clive conveyed his terms for settlement.

"a) The British should receive complete reparation for all their losses.

b) The Company should be allowed the full exercise of all its privileges in Bengal,

c) The British should have the right to fortify their settlements as they pleased, and

d) The Company should have a Mint at Calcutta."[24]

On 30 January, 1757 Siraj-ud-Daulah's army began to cross the river about 10 miles from Hugli. The Nawab again wrote to the French to help him drive away the English in consideration of special concessions promised them. The French declined to collaborate with him in an all out drive against those "faithless people (the English.)" Siraj-ud-Daulah marched up to Calcutta but he failed to encamp there. Clive marched out and after some opposition succeeded in crossing the Marahatta ditch and inflicted fairly heavy casualties on the Nawab's forces. Further negotiations followed and Siraj-ud-Daulah accepted nearly all the conditions offered by the British to restore the status quo.

In the meantime war had broken out in Europe between the French and the English. It made the position of the French in Bengal extremely precarious as they feared an attack from the English and could expect no effective assistance or protection from the Nawab after the recent happenings in Bengal The British wanted to avail of this opportunity to dispose off the French before they settled their scores with the Nawab. In pursuance of his plan they despatched Mr. Watts who knew the language to give a legal shape to the treaty to ensure the fulfilment of the conditions earlier comveyed to the Nawab. Omi Chand who had all along been playing a double game accompanied him. On 28 January he had written a letter to Clive professing his loyalty to the English and his desire to help him. Watts arrived at Hugli on 17 February. Through Omi Chand he won over Nand Kamar, the governor of Hugli, and obtained reliable information about French intrigues and the Nawab's intentions. There was difference of opinion amongst British officers about the advisability of an attack on Chandernagar. The Nawab had forbidden the English against any hostile

act against the French. By skilful diplomacy and playing on the fears of Siraj-ud-Daulah that Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had already sacked Delhi, was planning to march against him. Siraj-ud-Daulah's attitude softened. Omi Chand's "persuasion sweeter than honey on his lips" did the rest. Watson who had so far refused to support the attack on Chandernagar, particularly after he received instructions from London, agreed to open hostilities against the French. An equivocally worded letter from the Nawab which his secretary had been bribed to write, was interpretd as permission to attack Chandernagar. On 14 March the English attacked an outpost of Chandernagar. Watson with his ships soon joined them. Chandernagar surrendered on 23 June. The loss of Chandernagar was a big blow to French influence in Bengal and brought the English considerable increase of prestige amongst the rulers of the Deccan principalities. The British secured complete control of river traffic and immense military stores from Chandernagar. The only power that could have contested their supremacy in Bengal was gone and the road to Empire was open. "Without the capture of Chandernagar, Plassy and the founding of an empire would not have been possible." The Nawab when he heard of the fall of Chandernagar expressed his "unexpressible pleasure" at the British victory but at heart he was frightened and nervous at its possible repercussions. By "haughty and submissive letters" the Nawab was completely rendered helpless. Balasore had been captured and the British now demanded that the French should be expelled from Bengal and the remaining factories surrendered to the British. The French and the British were all along bribing the Nawab's officers to promote their own interest. Jean Law was summoned by the Nawab and advised under pressure from the British to leave Bengal and proceed to Patna promising to recall him later if his services were required. Law replied, "Rest assured my Lord Nawab! that this is the last time we shall see each other." Admiral Watson wrote to the Nawab conveying to him his determination not to leave a single Frenchman in the kingdom. The Nawab fumed and fretted in impotent rage but was powerless to do anything. In the meantime the Seths and Mir Jafar had their own plans to depose Siraj-ud-Daulah and put up their nominee with British connivance and active help on the *masnad* of

Bengal. To still Siraj-ud-Daulah's suspicions and to gain time for their plans to mature they kept up the fiction of professing to observe the terms of the recent treaty and subside his fears by "diplomacy, dissimulation and soothing letters." The British accepted Mir Jafar's proposal to supplant Siraj-ud-Daulah as against the other candidate Yar Lutf Khan. This was not liked by Omi Chand who now offered his services to the Nawab which offer was accepted. But Omi Chand who was hated and despised by the Seths and Mir Jaffar was at the same time negotiating a deal with the British to secure from them an agreement for a share of the spoils of the state treasury, which share was estimated at two million pounds at the then rate of exchange—nearly 20 million pounds in modern money. If the British refused to give him his share he threatened to divulge the conspiracy to the Nawab. It was a difficult situation and Clive proposed, and his proposal was accepted, that a double treaty should be drawn up, one containing the clause about Omi Chand and the other without it. The latter was to be considered authentic and shown to Mir Jafar.

By the terms of the treaty accepted, signed and sworn to by Mir Jafar, the British were to be confirmed in all the grants and privileges granted to the English by Siraj-ud-Daulah. Mir Jafar was to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the English against all enemies of the British, Indian powers as well as the Europeans. Frenchmen in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were to be delivered up to the English with all their goods, factories and effects, and were never in future to be permitted to settle in any of the said provinces. A sum of one hundred lacs of sicca rupees was to be paid to the British as compensation for the losses suffered by them while other Europeans were to receive the sum of fifty lacs of sicca rupees, and the Hindu residents were to receive the sum of twenty lack of sicca rupees, and the Armenians seven lacs of sicca rupees. Omi Chand was to receive the sum of twenty lacs of sicca rupees.[25]

The country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the river and the lake and reaching as far as Culpee was to be put under the perpetual government of the English, the English paying the usual rents for the same to the Treasury. In return the British were to assist Jafar Ali with their whole force to obtain the subadari of the provinces of

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.[26]

Article VIII appeared in the false treaty. Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh further agreed to make a present of 12 lacss to the Committee and 40 lacss as prize money for the army and navy. The treaty was the culmination "of the nice and important game," that was being played with the Nawab. The principal negotiator and arch conspirator was Mr. Watts who after the treaty was accepted by Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh, left Murshidabad and joined Clive at Khulna on 14 June.

Siraj-ud-Daulah, weak, vacillating and frightened, made at first an unsuccessful, faint-hearted and ill organised attempt to arrest Mir Jafar and then to placate him. He then complained to Clive about the conduct of Mr. Watts in having secretly departed from Murshidabad "with a very deceitful design and intention to break the treaty" which he affirmed he had accepted in good faith.

The Nawab moved to Plassey to join his army. Clive was already in Khulna. He directed Major Coote to capture the fort of Katwa which commanded the river and the road to Murshidabad and had a large store of grain. The fort was captured and Clive moved to it with his main force. Clive was disturbed by the vacillation of Mir Jafar and seriously debated the question of either making an immediate move against the Nawab or stay on in Katwa during the rainy season till he was reasonably assured of Mir Jafar's active support. On 21 June a council of war was held and Clive who had in the meantime received an encouraging letter decided to march against the Nawab and decide the issue by force. On 22 June the British army arrived at Plassey (Palasi)[27] at midnight. The Nawab's army consisting of about 35,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry and 53 field pieces manned by 50 Frenchmen was encamped about a mile to the north. But the principal weakness of the Nawab lay in the untrustworthiness of the soldiers and the disloyalty of the officers—Rai Durlabh, Yar Lutf Khan and Mir Jafar. The only general loyal to him was Mir Madan. On the morning of 23 June the two armies were poised for attack. The battle opened at 8 a.m. A desultory battle continued till mid-day. By three p.m. the Nawab's army was retiring. Mir Madan had been

fatally wounded and died soon after. The Nawab sent for Mir Jafar. When the latter appeared "Siraj-ud-Daula spoke to him in the humblest strain, and at last descended to the lowest supplication. He even took his turban from off his head (at least this was the report) and placed it before the General, to whom he addressed these very words : "I now repent of what I have done, and availing myself of those ties of consanguinity which subsist between us, as well as of those rights which my grandfather, Ali Vardi Khan, had doubtless acquired upon your gratitude, I look up to you, as to the only representative of that venerable personage, and hope therefore, that, forgetting my past trespasses, you shall henceforth behave as becomes a Seyd, a man united in blood to me, and a man of sentiments, who conserves a grateful rememberance of all the benefits he has received from my family, I recommend myself to you, take care of the conservation of my honour and life." Mir Jafar coldly replied that the day was now drawing to its end and that there remained no time for an attack. "Send a counter order to the troops that are advancing, said he, recall those engaged, and tomorrow, with the blessing of God, I will join all the troops together and provide for the engagement." Siraj-ud-Daula observed, that they might be attacked by the enemy in the night. This also the General took upon himself to provide against, and he promised that the enemy would not form a night attack."[28] He was advised by the traitors to withdraw his troops. He ordered Mohan Lal who had succeeded Mir Madan to withdraw his troops. Mohan Lal at first refused to comply with this order but latter carried out the command. Siraj-ud-Daulah fled away to Murshidabad. By five o'clock the British had won a victory which sealed the fate not only of Siraj-ud-Daulah but of Bengal. The road to Plassy led to the foundation of the British empire and the bondage of the subcontinent, Hindus and Muslims alike, to the British. It was a triumph not only of arms but skilful conspiracy, intrigue and treason. Clive was acclaimed a hero by a grateful nation and a statue was erected in the India House and a medal struck to commemorate the event.

"Plassy was both a real and a psychological victory. It demonstrated once and for all that a small body of men, well led and disciplined, could defeat the raggle-taggle mob of a native army. The result brought a surge of confidence to the British and a shiver of fear

to the native princes."[29] While the British used this victory to their advantage, the upper classes in Bengal failed to see the danger that lay ahead as a result of their mutual jealousies, pursuit of power and wealth and disregard of all ethical values. It was not merely a military defeat but a moral collapse of the ruling class.

Mir Jafar without taking part in the fight now congratulated Clive on his victory. He met Clive at Daudpore who hailed him as the *subah* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Clive entered Murshidabad on the 29th, seated Mir Jafar on the throne and paid him the customary *nazar* in gold coins. Siraj-ud-Daulah finding no support in Murshidabad left his capital with his favourite, wife Lutfunnisa, some adherents and such gold and jewels which the party could hastily collect and carry with them.

Siraj-ud-Daulah arrived opposite Rajmahal on 30 June. The party took shelter to the hut of a Darwesh, Dana Shah, and begged for food. Dana Shah recognised Siraj-ud-Daulah who had "disguised himself in mean attire." To satisfy an old grudge he informed Mir Qasim and Mir Daud Ali Khan, faujdar of Rajmahal, who had been sent to pursue the fugitives. Mir Jafar of the unfortunate Siraj-ud-Daulah was arrested and sent to Murshidabad. Mir Qasim and Mir Daud who had accompanied him forced the ladies to hand over whatever gold or jewels they had with them. Arrived in his capital Siraj-ud-Daulah was paraded in the streets and finally handed over to Miran, the son of Mir Jafar. A contemporary historian gives the following account of Siraj-ud-Daulah. 'On Sunday, the fifteenth of Shawwal, Siraj - ul - Daulah arrived, a disgraced captive in the hands of his servants. They forgot his vices, and recollected only the hardships of his present fortune, comparing it with the splendour they had seen him surrounded with from his infancy till now. It is said, that several *jemmadars*, as he passed their quarters, were so penetrated with grief and anger as to prepare to rescue him, but were prevented by their superiors, who had expectations of reward from his rival, so that the virtue of the weak was of no effect. Mir Jafar was at this time at Mansur Gunj, but his son, Miran was at Murshidabad. This young man surpassed his father in every evil quality, never hesitating to shed blood. He regarded readiness to punish as good policy, and mercy as folly. With such

ideas he was fond of comparing himself to Mahabut Jung. He ordered Siraj-ud-Daulah to be confined and put to death, but no person of rank would undertake the murder. At length, a wretch named Mahmud Ali Beg, who from his infancy had been cherished by Mahabut Jung and Siraj-ud-Daulah, from whose grandmother he had received a portion with his wife from charity, offered to execute the horrid deed. When the unfortunate navob saw him approach his person, he said, " Art thou come to Kill me?" and, upon receiving a reply in the affirmative, began to pray; then suddenly exclaimed, "Will not they let me live somewhere in obscurity? No, No, it cannot be, I must be sacrificed for the murder of Husain Kooli Khan." The assassin now inflicted several wounds, and the navob falling down cried, "It is enough, my talk is over, and revenge is finished." Having said this, he resigned his soul to the Creator, and left this world of crimes by the sword of cruelty. His body was placad upon an elephant and carried through the city, exposed to the populace. It is said that the driver of the elephant, by accident stopped at the spot where Siraj-ud-Daulah had assassinated Hussain Kooli Khan; some drops of blood fell from the body upon the same ground."[30]

"When the corpse of the navob approached the residence of his afflicted mother, guessing the disaster from the clamour of the populace, she burst from her appartments, and ran into the street, beating her breast, but was forced back with blows. by order of Khadim Hussain Khan, who sat upon the terrace of his house to view the exposure of the body of his lord's son. Jafar Khan was asleep when the unfortunate prisoner had arrived, and did not wake till after the murder. When being informed of his coming,he sent a message to his son, commanding him to be careful of his person. Miran, on receiving the order laughed and said," I am not too weak as to be neglectful in such affairs," and to his companions he vauntingly exclaimed, "My father just now sent for me but I had before completed the affair, for am I not, my friends, son to the sister of Mahabut Jung, How then could I be careless upon such an occasion ?"

Siraj-ud-Daulah had reigned only for fifteen months, and died a tragic inglorious death at the age of 20 years.[32] After his death people forgot his faults, his excessive bouts of anger, his severe punishments, meted out to those who crossed his path and his memory has passed

to posterity as a martyr and the first freedom fighter of India and Pakistan though an unsuccessful one. Miran had Mirza Mahdi, the sole surviving brother of Siraj-ud-Daulah, and his nephew brutally murdered thus extinguishing the entire male line of Ali Vardi's descendants.

Colonel Malleson was honest enough to at least admit that Siraj-ud-Daulah did not in this sordid affair resort to deception or treachery. "Whatever may have been his faults, Siraj-ud-Daulah had neither betrayed his master nor sold his country. Nay more, no unbiassed Englishman, sitting in judgment on the events which passed in the interval between the 6th February and 23rd June, can deny that the name of Siraj-ud-Daulah stands higher in the scale of honour than does the name of Clive. He was the only one of the principal actors in that tragic drama who did not attempt to deceive."[33]

The following observations of Jadu Nath Sarkar deserve consideration:

"Ignoble as the life of Siraj-ud-Daulah had been and tragic his end, among the public of his country, his memory had been redeemed by a woman's devotion and a poet's genius. For many years after his death, his widow Lutfunnisa Begam[34] used to light a memorial lamp on his tomb every evening as long as she lived. The Bengali poet Nabin Chandra Sen in his masterpiece, "The Battle of Plassey," has washed away the follies and crimes of Siraj by artfully drawing forth his reader's tears for fallen greatness and blighted youth."[35]

Section II : MIR JAFAR (1757-1760)

Mir Jaffar was formally proclaimed Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 25 June, 1757. Clive arrived at Murshidabad on 29th. "The inhabitants," says Clive, "who were spectators upon that occasion, must have amounted to some hundred thousand, and if they had had an inclination to have destroyed the Europeans, they might have done it with sticks and stones."[36]

Mir Jafar had secured the Nawabship but the de facto sovereignty over Bengal had passed to the East India Company. The new Nawab was used as a cover for the British control of the affairs of these provinces. The real power lay in the hands of Clive. The fact

was not lost on the feudatory chiefs and other leading officers. They congratulated Clive more enthusiastically than they did Mir Jafar as Clive's friendship and protection was worth more to them than that of the puppet Nawab. Asadur Rahman of Birbhum had pledged his support to Clive "the revenger of injuries and the support of the oppressed" even befor the battle of Plassey. For the moment the grandees at Murshidabad regarded Clive as the symbol of power, and arbiter of fate, the type of omnipotence who could protect or destroy at will."[37]

Raja Swrup Chand of Burdawan, the Jagat Seth and Khoja Wajid had conveyed to Clive their good wishes. Ram Narain, Governor of Patna, had offered to Clive to drive away the French from his province. Clive soon after these events wrote a letter to Alamgir II and his wazir apprising them of the revolution in Bengal and soliciting a firman from the imperial court confirming Mir Jafar in the Nawabship. Through the good offices of Jagat Seth and suitable bribes the necessary confirmation was received—a post facto legalization of an illegal act. The prime minister wrote to Clive; "You are a great man. Let the King's favour be upon you. I have received your address enclosing one for the King, the whole particulars of which he has read. By your letter I am informed of the destruction of Calcutta and the death of many of your great men by Siraj-ud-Daulah. Whoever does bad things and thinks they are for his good, is possessed of false thoughts, and I am likewise informed of Mir Mohammad Jafar Cawn's being in possession of the suhaship, of his readiness to obey the King; of his endeavoures to make the country flourish, and to gain the love of his subjects and of the friendship subsisting between him and you. I always regard as good the man who seeks the interest of his country and the good of the people; for this reason the *sanad* is given to Meer Mohammad Jafar Cawn, rely on me with confidence and look on me as one always ready to assist and favour you. By the goodness of God, according to my heart's desire, I will give you a great post hereafater."[38]

The news of the recent happenings in Bengal and the prestigious position acquired by the English was conveyed to the Nawab of Arcot and the Nizam of Haiderabad. The Nawab Wazir of Awadh and Ram Narain, Governor of Patna, were asked to keep a watch over the activities of the French who were to be driven out of their

territories. To stabilize the goverment of Mir Jafar, the feudatorychiefs were advised to keep peace amongst themselves. The list of officers to be appointed by Mir Jafar was required to be approved by Clive who had already secured the appointment of Raja Durlabh as *diwan*. Thus, for all practical purposes the real ruler was Clive whose word was law and Mir Jafar had neither the courage nor the capacity to go against the wishes of the English. His subservience to Clive had earned him the title of" Colonel Clive's ass". Mir Jafar's difficulties began soon after he had entered into a treaty with the English which forced him to grant concessions which Siraj-ud-Daulah had refused and had paid with his life and *masnad*. It further saddled him with heavy financial commitments which impoverished his government and brought untold misery to his subjects. The following were the trems of the treaty which Mir Jafar had signed with the British:

1. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Siraj-ud-Daulah, I agree to comply with;
2. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans;
3. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces;
4. In consideration of the lossess which the English Company have sustained by the plunder and capture of Calcutta by the Nawab, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their forces, I will give them a crore of rupees;
5. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees;
6. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmans, and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty lacs of rupees shall be given.
7. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give seven lacs of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos and Mussalmans, shall be left to the Admiral Colonel Clive and the rest of the council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.
8. Within the ditch, which surrounds the borders of Calcutta

are tracts of land belonging to several zemindares, besides this, I will grant the English Company 900 yards without the ditch;

9 All the lands lying to the south of Calcutta as far as Culpee shall be the zemindarree of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction, the revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other zemindars.

10. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will bear the charge of the maintenance of their troops

11. I will not erect any new fortifications below Hughly near the river Ganges.

12 As soon as I am established in the Government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.[36]

The Nawab under this treaty was required to pay Rs.227 lakh's The mode of satisfaction of the demand was left to Jagat Seth who decided to pay "immediately one half, two thirds in money and one third in jewels, plate and goods and that the other half should be discharged within three years at three equal and annual payments." Rai Durlabh was to be paid a commission of 5 per cent and Jagat Seth's claim for losses suffered by him was to be paid out of the goods of the French in their settlements and the balance to be paid by the Company. The only conspirator who received nothing for his treachery was Omi Chand. After the conference with the Jagat Seth, Omi Chand was informed of the trick played on him. "The conference being ended," writes Orme, "Clive and Scrafton went towards Omi chand, who was awaiting in full assurance of hearing the glad tidings of the good fortune, Clive said, 'it is now time to undeceive Omichand,' on which Scrafton said to him in the Indostan language, "Omi Chand the red paper is a trick, you are to have nothing." These words overpowered him like a blast of sulphur, he sank back fainting, and would have fallen to the ground had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms ; they carried him to his palankin, in which they conveyed him to his house, where he remained many hours in stupid melancholy and began to show some signs of insanity. Some days after he visited Colonel Clive, who advised him to make a pilgrimage to some pagoda, which he accordingly did soon after to a famous one

near Maulda[40] ; he went and returned insane, his mind every day approaching more and more to idiotism, and contrary to the usual manners of old age in Indostan, still more to the former excellency of his understanding, he delighted in being continually dressed in the richest garments and ornamented with the most costly jewels. In this state of imbecility he died about a year and a half after the shock of his disappointment."[41]

During the evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1772 it came out that sixteen leading Englishmen had received in 1757 and in subsequent years 58,70,000, Clive receiving 20,80,000 and Watts 10,40,000. Latter, Clive received 24 parganas the zemindari of which yielded Rs. three lakhs a year as personal jagir. This reduced Mir Jafar to a state of bankruptcy. His army was in arrears and his feudatories rebellious. To add to his miseries his "son" as he used to style Clive, asked for a permit for virtual monopoly to buy saltpeter. Mir Jafar at first, refused to grant the permit but after receiving a threatening letter from Clive acceded to his request. The pathetic appeals of the Nawab to stop further demands on him were met with refusal.[42]

Mir Jafar shortly after his accession prepared to march against Ram Narain, the Governor of Patna, who had been loyal to the house of Ali Vardi Khan but had done nothing to actively help Siraj-ud-Daulah in his struggle against the British. There were disturbances in Purneah caused by the rebellion of the dependents of the late faujdar, Shaukat Jung. He left Miran at Murshidabad and himself set out to Patna in the month of Safar 1171 (1757). The first act of Miran was to order the execution of Mirza Mahdi, the brother of Siraj-ud-Daulah who was done to death either by poison being administered to him or by being "pressed to death between two boards used to tighten bales of shawls."

Khadim Husain Khan was appoined faujdar of Purneah and he succeeded in restoring order in the district. Ramanarain, afraid of the Nawab sought the protection of Clive and when summoned by the Nawab to appear before him he did so only after receiving a written assurance from the Nawab that his person, honour, fortune and continuance in office would be assured. Arrived in Patna Mir Jafar was visited by the leading men of Patna who congratulated him on his

accession to the subadari and professed loyalty to him. One Shamsud-din to whom Mir Jafar owed some money was amongst the visitors. Mir Jafar remembered the debt but expressed his inability to pay him back because of his financial embarrassments. Some time after Shamsuddin's men picked up a quarrel with the men of Clive. When Mir Jafar heard of this he reproved Shamsuddin. "Know you not", said he, "the rank of the Colonel, that your people should dare to insult any of his friends?" The Mirza putting on a look of submission, exclaimed, "My patron, how dare I even look the Colonel in the face with steadiness, who every morning of my life makes three obeisances to his ass ?" Mir Jafar kept silent, and pretended not to understand the meaning.[43]

Mir Jafar intended to appoint his brother Kazim Khan to the Government of Patna but Clive interceded on behalf of Ramnarain and reminded him of the written agreement by which the Nawab had promised to cotinue Ramnarain in his office as *naib* of Patna. After spending some time in visiting the tombs of celebrated faqirs and celebrating the festival of Holi he returned to Murshidabad.

The discontent of the army which had been in arrears was steadily mounting. The revenues had fallen by neglect and maladministration. Driven to despair some disaffected officers under the leadership of Abdul Hadi Khan plotted to assassinate Mir Jafar but the plot was discovered and the leaders captured and executed. The widow of Mahabut Jung, his daughter Ghasiti Begum and Ameena Begum, Lutfunnisa, the widow of Siraj-ud-Daulah, and her infant daughter, were suspected of encouraging the plot, and were sent into confinement at Dacca.[44]

The failure of the plot did not still the latent opposition to and disgust of Mir Jafar. The conduct of his son and his revolting cruelties added fuel to the fire and Mir Jafar did nothing to conciliate the feudatories or satisfy the demands of the army. He had the reputation of profuse liberality and solicitude for the army during the days of Ali Vardi Khan. When asked by one of his friends as to the change that had come on him he replied "In Mahabut Jung's time the public treasure was another's ; but now it was his own, his heart felt uneasy to part with it."[45]

Prince Ali Gauhar having escaped from Delhi came to Allahabad

where he was well received by Muhammad Quli Khan, the subadar of Allahabad. The young subadar "a man of courage but of little conduct" prompted Ali Gauhar to take advantage of the disturbed conditions in Bihar and Bengal and invade those territories. Nawab Shujah-ud-Daulah assured him of support and Sunder Singh and Pahlwan Singh, influential zamindars of Bihar, had also sent letters inviting the Prince to Bihar. Sunder Singh, however, was stabbed by one of his men, Ghulam Ghaus. This removed from the scene one of the most determined enemies of Mir Jafar and a supporter of Ali Gauhar. In 1759 Muhammad Quli Khan and Prince Ali Gauhar marched towards Patna. Ramnarain was in a fix as he had received no news of armed support either from the English or the Nawab. He came out of the city and pitched his camp a few miles from it. He asked the advice of Amyatt, the chief of the English factory, who asked him to try to keep the Nawab as well as Prince Ali Gauhar in good humour till he was sure of his position. Ramnarain in pursuance of this advice kept up correspondence with both the parties. As Ali Gauhar approached Patna, Mr. Amyatt left the place and proceeded to Bengal. Ramnarain then decided to present himself before the Prince. He was invested with a *khilaat* and allowed to return to his camp from where he went to Patna, shut its gates and manned the walls. He continued to amuse the Prince and Muhammad Quli Khan by sending them presents all the time anxiously waiting for the arrival of the English and the Nawab. Muhammad Quli Khan on being refused admission into Patna started bombarding the town. He latter decided to raise the seige and retire to Phulwaree when he heard that Shujah-ud-Daulah had occupied Allahabad during his absence. Mr. Law with some French troops joined Muhammad Quli and Prince Ali Gauhar but failsd to persuade them to continue the siege of Patna. "He complained loudly of the folly of the nobles of Hindostan, who, he said, were cowardly, giving up their empire to ruin, that he had travelled from the coast of Bengal to Delhi, and been witness of nothing but oppression of the poor and plundering of the travellers. Though I, said he "have used every argument to excite such powerful nobles as Shujah-ud-Daulah and Imad-ul-Mulk to regularise the empire, and attempt the recovery of Bengal from the English, they would not attend to me, nor understand their real interests."[46]

The Prince would not accept the offer of help made by Pahlwan

Singh but sent a letter to Clive demanding a sum of money as the price of his retreat. The imperialists marched on to Chutterpore. Muhammad Quli Khan disheartened and broken in spirit submitted to Shujah-ud-Daulah who imprisoned him and had him murdered shortly after. Clive now appeared on the scene and the conflict between Ramnarain, Pahlwan Singh and Miran was patched up. Clive responded to the letter of Prince Ali Gauhar by sending him a small sum of money.

Miran, ever impetuous, now decided to dismiss Asalat Khan Diler Jung and other officers from his service. He was advised by his father to desist from this but the youngman on his return to Murshidabad left them behind and these officers joined the relatives of the rebel, Sunder Singh.

Ali Gauhar received the intelligence of the assassination of his father when he crossed the river Keramansa. On the advice of his officers he appointed Shujah-ud-Daulah as his *wazir*, conferred on Najib-ud-Daulah the title of Amir-ul-Umara and sent an emissary to Ahmad Shah Abdali requesting him to direct the Afghan Chiefs to help him in setting himself as Emperor in 1761 Delhi in He ascended the throne while in exile and took the title of Shah Alam.

He now marched against Ramnarain who was defeated but escaped to Patna. An attempt was made now by the imperialists to pursue him and capture the town. The Emperor next turned to fight Miran but was defeated. An attempt by Kamgar Khan to surprise Mir Jafar in Murshidabad failed on ocount of the vigilance of the Nawab. A belated but unsuccessful attempt was made to capture Patna. During the skirmishes that followed Miran was killed by lightening in his tent at night. "Meeraun was of a bloody and unrelenting disposition. With him, the slightest jealousy was sufficient to bring death on its object. By his instigation, Khaujeh Hadee Khan and Meer Cauzim Khan were assassinated on suspicion of disloyalty. He killed several women of his haram with his own hands and would boast of the act saying, 'this was the true mode of clearing up doubts and easing the mind of jealousies.' With his savage ferocity, he procured the death of Ameena Begum and Gossety Begum, the daughters of Mahabut Jung, whom he caused to be drowned, and among his papers was found a list of many persons whom he had resolved to cut off at the conclusion of the campaign, determined, as he said to rid himself of the disloyal

and sit down in repose with his friends. But the Almighty, who is protector of the universe, would not permit such barbarity. When He beholds a people immersed in wickedness, He commits the guidance of power over them to a tyrant, that He may punish their offences; but He lets not that tyrant remain for ever over His servants. The government of the oppressive has no permanency, for the scripture truly savs, 'dominion may continue even with infidelity, but cannot with cruelty'. If, indeed,after necessary severity, the cruel became just, he may establish their power, or else, remedying evil by evil, he sends one more cruel than themselves to overthrow their prosperity."[47]

Miran's body was taken to Rajmahal for burial. Mir Qasim Khan who "was eminently distinguished among his contemporaries and family for penetration and conduct," now came to the front and his father-in-law Mir Jafar who disliked him received him in favour, particularly because of his tact and ability to handle the indisciplined and discontented army.

Mir Qasim went to Calcutta where he met Mr. Vansitart who had succeeded Holwel after Clive's departure for England. He apprised him of the deterioratin economic and administrative condition in the Suba. They agreed to a proposal to entrust the administration to Mir Qasim as the deputy of his father-in-law. This proposal which in practice was meant to divest Mir Jafar of the control of government, was opposed by some members of the Council but in the end Vansitart won the day and packed off Mir Qasim to Murshidabad and himself followed him with a detatchment of the army. Arrived in Murshidabad he met Mir Jafar who was informed of the intended change which he explained to the Nawab was in his own interest. Mir Jafar refused to accept the plan and Vansitart decided to force him to accept it. He went with the detachment to the palace and Mir Jafar still obdurate was replaced as Nawab by Mir Qasim. Mir Jafar was given the choice to reside in Murshidabad or shift to Calcutta. He chose Calcutta as his future place of residence where he built for himself a palace and shifted there with his family and jewels and valuable effects of unestimatable amount. A monthly allowance suitable to his dignity was settled on him.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER VII

1. Jean Law's Memoira, Vol. III, pp. 193-94.
2. Probably on 14 April. 1756
3. This is probably a fabrication
4. Chatterji, The Road To Plassey, New Delhi, 1960, p 87.
4. Ram Gopal, How the British Occupied Bengal, pp. 62-63.
5. Hill, Vol. I, 266-68, 280-81.
6. Ram Copal, op. cit. pp. 63-64.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid, p. 68.
10. Quoted by Ram Gopal, p. 72.
11. Ibid, p. 75.
12. Ibid, pp. 77.
13. Ibid, p. 78.
14. This would afford less than two square feet space to each prisoner which in itself is preposterous.
15. S.C. Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. I, p. XCIV.
16. Ibid, p. XCVI.
17. Siyar,
18. Quoted by Michael Edwards, The Battle of Plassey and the Conquest of Bengal, p. 61.
19. Michael Fdwards, p. 63.
20. Son of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and nephew of Ali Vardi Khan.
21. Michael Edwards, p. 77.
22. Michael Edwards, op. cit, p. 88.
23. Ibid, p. 80.
24. Ibid., p. 90.
25. This was Article VIII of the Treaty which was omitted in the real treaty.
26. Hill, Vol. II, pp. 383-85.
27. So called because of palais trees that surrounded it.
28. Edwards, op. cit, p. 147.
29. Ibid, p. 148.
30. Scott, II, pp. 371-372.
31. Ibid., pp. 371-73.
32. Twenty four yeass of age according to another account.
33. Colonel Malleson, Decisive Battles of India, p. 71.
34. After the death of Sirajuddaulah she lived at Murshidabad and received a pension from the Nizamat. Siyar (Raymond), Vol. II, p. 94, f.n., C.P.C. Vol. I, 2761.

35. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, The History of Bengal, II Dacca, 1948, p. 497.
36. Hill ,Vol. III, pp. 324-25.
37. Wheeler, Early Records of British India, p. 261.
38. Ibid, quoted by Ram Gopal, p. 230.
39. Vansittart, Narative of the Transactions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 56-57.
40. Probably Malwa
41. Orme, History of Indostan, Vol. II, p. 182. Omichand according to Mr. Justice Saradacharan Misra was a Nanak Panthi. He died on 5 December 1758 ; see Basu, Vol. I, p. 198.
42. The Sultan of Turkey had advised Alamgir to see that saltpetre was not sold to the Europeans. In Europe in early years horse's dung was used in place of saltpetre.
43. Scott, p. 376.
44. Ibid, p. 378.
45. Scott, p. 380.
46. Ibid, p. 388.
47. Ibid., pp. 398-99.

CHAPTER VIII

KASHMIR—THE PUNJAB—KABUL

Section I

Kashmir Under the Mughuls 1707-1752

Kashmir after its conquest by Akbar in Octobar 1586 became the pleasure resort of the Mughuls who were enchanted by its natural beauty, the skill of its craftsmen, its strategic importance and its natural resources. Timur after his return from India had overrun Jammu but Kashmir, which he speaks of "as an incomparable country" was spared as Sultan Sikander (1389-1413) had sent presents to him and accepted him as his liege lord. Bahur made two attempts to conquer Kashmir but he was so occupied with central Asian and Indian affairs that he gave up the idea after receiving a rich tribute. Mirza Kamran made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the country, but Mirza Haider Dughlat was more successful. He conquered Kashmir in 1540. His rule in the valley was generally beneficient, though disturbed by factious fights against him. It was he who introduced the use of tea in Kashmir in 1547. He was killed in a military skirmish in 1551.

Akbar finally succeeded in conquerring Kashmir in 1586 more "it is said by intrigue than the force of his arms." Kashmir, henceforth, became a province of the Mughul empire and remained so for nearly one hundred and sixty years. Akbar, during the nineteen years that Kashmir was under his rule, did much to restore peace in the valley, and encourage the development of its straditional crafts. According to Dr. Stein "Akbar's conquest marks the commencement of modern history of Kashmir. Though the conservative instinct of the population was bound to maintain much of the old traditions and customs, yet the close political connection with a great empire and the free intercourse with other territories subject to it necessarily transformed in many ways the political and economic situatiou of the country."[1]

Jahangir paid several visits to the valley to fly " from power and pomp and the trophies of war." As a result of his frequent visits the tone of the administration improvd and his love of justice and equity

won him the hearts of the people. In his Memoirs he thus describes Kashmir: "Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, or an iron fort to a palace of kings, a delightful flower-bed, and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are runnirg streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms, the gates, the the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the touches of banquet adoring tulips."[2]

Shahjahan continued the tradition of his father and visited Kashmir several times and embellished it with several new buildings. Alamgir Aurangzeb, because of his involvement in military and political affairs and the desire to cut down unnecessary expenditure visited Kashmir only once in 1665.

Kashmir was well administered and Bernier describes the condition of the people there thus : "The Kachemirys are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenuous than the Indians In poetry and the sciences they are not inferior to the Persians. They are also very active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their *palekys*, bedsteads, trunks, ink stands, boxes, spoons, and various other thngs are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the Indies. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to Kachemire, and the stable commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children . . ."[3]

Sujan Rai in his Khulasat-ut-Tawaikh gives the following description of the Mughul piovince of Kashmir in the time of Alamgir.[4] "All classes of artisans, skilled mechanics, experts of every trade and profession and learned and accomplished men live in it. Woollen

stuffs, especially shawls are well made and sent to the seven climes (of the world) by way of present. Soft and beautiful broad cloths of wool are manufactured. *Pattu* (woollen) sheets in two pieces are also well woven. It is not their custom to hold bazars ; they transact buying and selling in their own houses. All the houses are built of wood, with four storeys or more. On the ground floor are kept the animals and fumiture; the second storey is the residence; the third and fourth for keeping articles, On account of the abundance of wood and the frequnecy of earthquakes,they do not make the roofs with stone or brick. It is not their custom to build walls of brick or stone The whole house is built with wood. On the roof tulips are planted and form a nice spectacle in spring.There are no snakes, scorpions and other oppressors of life in this town. Bugs, lice, gnats, and flies abound. Near the city is a very big lake, some leagues in lengh, calld the Dal. It remains full of delicious and tasteful water all the year round. The water does not get a bad smell even after many days. One side of it adjoins the pargana of Phakli. In travelling in the hilly parts, men carry big loads on their backs, but boats are mainly used in transporting heavy articles. Hence, boat-men and carpenters drive a roaring trade.

The length of this country from Qambar to the river Kishan Ganga is 120 *kos*; its breadth is 80 *kos*. In the west lies. Persia and the river Chenab, east and south lie Banihal and (the Jammu mount ains,east and north,Greater Tibbet westwards Pakli and the river Kishan-Ganga; west and south are the Ghakkars; west and north Lesser Tibbet; on all the four sides are sky-reaching mountains. It has 46 mahals, with a revenue of 12 cror, 62 lac, and 85 thousand dams".

On his accession Bahadur Shah I, appointed Jafar Khan as the governor of Kashmir in 1707 and Khwaja Abdullah Dahbedi as his deputy. Habitually drunk and indolent, his rule was oppressive and harsh. He died in 1709 A. C. after having held the governor ship for a year and three months. Ibrahim Khan[5] was appointed his successor but he died after three months.

Nawazish Khan Rumi[6] was appointed as governor of Kashmir in 1709 with Arif Khan as his *naib*. Arif Khan, an afficient and honest administrator worked hard to enforce government regulations and promote the happiness and prosperity of the people of Kashmir. He

was given the title of Amanat Khan in recognition of his meritorious services. Heavy rains and floods did considerable damage to cultivated lands and a devastating fire destroyed twenty *mohallas* and 40,000 houses.

Nawazish Ali Khan was recalled to the court and replaced by Inayat Ullah Khan,[7] the Khan-i-Saman, in 1711. Amanat Khan continued to hold the deputy governorship. Amanat Khan made a name for himself by his benevolence and justice. The Shia-Sunni conflict which had been rife in Kashmir for the last several years broke out again and Khalil Big, a Shia, was executed by the decree of Qazi Muhammad Akram for reviling the first three Caliphs. Sudarshan Pandit, the *Peshkar*, incurred the displeasure of the people because of his mal-administration and when resentment against him became violent, he sought escape from it by accepting Islam along with his sons at the hands of Khwaja Nur-ud-Din Mohammad Aftab. He was taken out in a procession and given Rs. 10.000 as a present (*dast* bos) by the leading men of the city.

Amanat Khan died in 1711 and was succeeded by Musharraf Khan, the son-in-law of Inayat Ullah Khan. After six months Inayat Ullah Khan assumed the governorship. Soon after his appointment some of the discontented officers invited Muzaffar Khan Bamboo who captured several districts of Kashmir. An expedition was sent against the rebels but the death of Jahandar Shah and the civil war that followed it prevented any further action against them. Hearing of the death of his son in the war of succession, Inayat Ullah Khan retired to be succeed by Saadat Khan. The latter appointed Ali Mohammad Khan as the deputy governor. He suppressed the Bamboo rising and put down the high-handedness of Abdul Azim, the *diwan*.[8] He punished Abuul Razzaq Gujar for his refractoriness. His rule was generally oppressive and he was removed from office after two years and four months. Three more appointments were made and Inayat Ullah Khan on his return from Hajj was reappointed governor in 1716 with Mir Ahmad Khan, who had won reputation as a good administrator, as his deptuy. He restored peace and order in the province and won the confidence aud respect of the subjects.

In 1719 he had to face a new situation created by the senseless persecution of the Hindus by Mulla Abdul Nabi, entitled Mahtawi

Khan,[9] a protegee of Bahadur Shah who had been appointed Shaikh-ul-Islam. One of his Hindu agents who managed his *jagir* complained to Mahtawi Khan of the insolence of some Hindu officials of the Revenue Department. Mahtawi Khan issued orders prohibiting the Pandits from riding horses, or wearing turbans. They were required to wear *pala* in place of shoes, not to send their children to *maktabs* and to pay *jiziya*. Mir Ahmad Khan considering the order impolitic and difficult to enforce, hesitated but the Muslim papulace clamoured for its enforcement. Failing to persuade him to carry out the Shaikh-ul-Islam's orders, the hooligans took the law in their own hands. They found Majlis Rai, a leading banker, riding out in the bazar, pulled him down from the horse, felled him to the ground and manhandled him. Majlis Rai escaped from the mob and went to the deputy governor to seek his protection. The latter sent a posse of police to accompany the banker to his house but the soldiers were set upon by the mob and several of them were killed or dispersed. They severely beat the banker and plundered his house. The banker reaching home burnt all the debtor's receipts with him worth about twenty four lakhs, and died soon after of his injuries and humiliation. The hooligans were now emboldened. They set about burning shops and houses of the Hindus and fought and scattered the soldiers who tried to restore.order When the matter was reported to the court, Inayat Ullah Khan deposed Mir Ahmad Khan and appointed Abdullah Khan Dahbedi as his deputy. The latter too either because of indifference or weakness failed to restore order and Munim Khan was now appointed governor of Kashmir. Munim Khan was later put to death on September 13, 1719.

So far the Shias had sided with the Hindus but now they too turned against them and set fire to their houses, and killed many of them in complete disregard of age or sex or status. Inayat Ullah Khan resigned and Abdus Samad Khan Saif-ud-Daulah was appointed governor of Kashmir. Abdullah Khan Dahbedi was asked to carry on the administration till the arrival of the governor-designate. Abdus Samad Khan reached Kashmir in 1721[10] and soon restored order by punishing the hooligans ,fining some, confiscating the property of a few of their leaders and hanging forty of their leaders as a warning to others. The orders of Mahtawi Khan were revoked and full liberty was granted to the Hindus to practice their religion and follow thier avocations. After

six months, Abdus Samad Khan returned to Lahore leaving Abul Barkat Khan and Arif Khan as his deputies. The two did not pull on well and after the resignation of Abdus Samad Khan, Azam Khan Bahadur was appointed governor in 1723. He put down the refractoriness of some of the mansabdars and restored order. On account of failure of rains there was a famine in the land and rice was so scarce that it was valued like gold. The scarcity of food and high prices afflicted the people for two years.

Azam Khan was replaced by Inayat Ullah Khan. This was the third time that he had been appointed governor of Kashmir. He appointed Fakhr-ud-Din Khan as his *naib* in 1734. On the death of Inayat Ullah Khan, Aqidat Khan was appointed governor with Abul Barkat Khan as his deputy. On account of his weak administration Asghar Khan was appointed governor[11] in 1727. His cruelty and oppressive rule raised a storm of opposition against him and to quieten the opposition he appointed Abul Barkat as his *peshkar*. When reports of his high handedenes reached the court, his chief patron, Raushan ud-Daulah Zafar Khan Bakhshi, shielded him. He was later openly reprimanded by the *wazir* in the Jamia Masjid. He attributed his humiliation to divine punishment, and finally agreed to the dismissal of Asghar Khan who was removed from office in 1728. Amir Khan, his successor, appointed Abul Barkat Khan as his *naib* and till his arrival Jalil-ud-Din Khan officiated for him. On account of a severe famine there were food riots in the city. Fazilat Khan, *Darogha-i-Adalat*, and Mufti Mohammad Ashraf Khan were murdered during these riots. The hostility between Ihtiram Khan who was appointed deputy in 1731 and Abul Barkat Khan led to open fight and Ihtiram Khan was removed from office, and Abul Barkat was reappointed as deputy. Haibat Khan of Muzaffarabad rose in revolt but peace was restored after a few skirmishes in which the imperial armies suffered heavy losses. Natural calamities such as floods as a result of incessant rains lasting for a week, fire and earthquake resulted in considerable damage to property and loss of life. In 1736 Mir Khan wes replaced by Dilir Khan of Panipat who resided in Lahore while the administration was carried on by Abul Barkat. He was forced to quit Kashmir as a result of an open rebellion against him and he retired to Lahore. There was general unrest in the country

The next governor was Diler Khan, who appointed Jalil-

ud-Din Khan as his deputy in 1737. There was complete chaos in Kashmir so that every man of any importance considered himself as the lord of the land in his own right. On the death of the governor Fakhar-ud-Daulah was appointed governor to be replaced after nine months by Inayat Ullah Khan better known as Atiut Ullah Khan. Abul Barkat was recalled and he appointd his naib to run the administration There ware several risings in the districts and civil disturbances in the city. Fakhar-ud-Daulah Khan determined to be reinstated in Kashmir obtained an order of appointment as governor of Kashmir from Nadir Shah. He was. however, driven away and Inayat Ullah Khan's authority was reestalished.

In 1745 Nisar Khan Sher Jung was appointed to the deputy governorship of Kashmir on behalf of Abul Mansur Safdar Jung, who had been appointed governor of Kashmir which post he held for some months. Abul Barkat died in the same year. He was a generous and cultured man, just and sagacious. He honoured and patronised the learned and the pious. During the time of his successor Afrasiab Khan as Deputy of Safdar Jung, Kashmir suffered again from floods and famine. Food became so scarce that people had to sell their ornaments, household goods and even wearing apparel to buy rice which had been hoarded by merchants. The dead were buried without any cloth sheets. Dogs and cats were killed and used as meat and canibalism was openly practisd. Male and female children were sold for two or three tankas each. This famine destroyed or staggered three-fourths of the population through death by starvation or epidemics or by migration. The hoarders were arrested and punished. Some of them were executed.

The Aghana in Kashmir

On the accession of Ahmad Shah Abdali the people of Kashmir urged him to invade the country. Abdali sent his governor of Peshawar, Jahan Khan Bamzai, to ask for permission to visit Kashmir. This was only a pretext to gain information about the country. In 1748 he sent a force under Ismat Ullah Khan to conquer Kashmir but he was defeated and his soldiers killed or dispersed in 1748 by Afrasiab Khan. Afrasiab was later poisoned by a hireling of Jahan Khan in retaliation for the death of the Afghan governor, Ismat Ullah Khan. He had held the governorship for seven years and two months. He was followed by Ahmad Ali Khan who was assassinated. Malik Hasan Irani, his succes-

sor, was replaced after two months by Allah Quli Khan who appointed Mir Muqim Khan as his deputy in 1751. He was ousted from his office by Abul Qasim Khan, son of Abul Barkat Khan. When Ahmad Shah Abdali came to Lahore in 1751 he was requested by certain Kashmiri officers to conquer Karhmir. Ahmad Shah Abdali sent an army under Abdullah Khan, Ishq Aqasi with 15,000 soldiers to conquer the province. The Afghans defeated the army of Abul Qasim who was betrayed by his commander Gul Khan Khaibari,

Kashmir was conquered by the Afghans in 1752 and Abdullah Khan, Ishq Aqasi was the first Afghan Governor. The leading noblemen and citizens were subjected to humiliation and forced to disgorge their hoarded wealth. The price of a gold coin came down to six rupees and a ruper was valued at 20 tankas. Many merchants, nearly eighty in number, who had their business coucerns in Srinagar left the town completely disorganizing the economic life of the country. The distress of the people is expresed in the following verse.

پرسیرم از بہار گلستان ز باغبان
افغان کشید و گفت کہ افغان خواب کرد

Ahdullah Khan left Kashmir in charge of Abdullah Khan Kabuli and his assistant Sukh Jiwan Mal, diwan, and carried away a crore of rupees in cash and goods. Khwaja Abdullah Khan was murdered with the connivance of Abul Hasan Khan Bandey, and the governorship was assumed by Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal in 1753 as the nominee of Alamgir Sani. But Kashmir had been lost to the Mughuls, though in 1753 Sukh Jiwan Mal revived the pretence of allegiance to the Mughuls for a short time.

Section II

The Punjab 1707-1748

The Punjab under the Mughuls till the death of Alamgir had enjoyed considerable peace and prosperity. Its strategic position, controlling the roads from and into Afghanistan, Kashmir and Sindh, had given it an importance which the other provinces lacked. The extent of the *subah*, the fertility of the soil and its waterways, the industry of the people, its flourishing trade and industry had added to the prosperity of the people and the growth of prosperous cities. Sujan Rai thus describes the province :

"The warlike tribes of the Punjab—the Ranghars, the Gujars, the Jats, the Khokars and the Ghakhars amongst others—were never slow in taking advantage of the weakness of the governors and the wide and dense forests, which have now been cleared, providing ready refuge to these restless but ambitious marauding tribes."[12] The same writer thus describes the conditions in Dipalpur now in Sahiwal District (former Montgomery) : "The Sarkar of Dipalpur (the modern Montgomery district) is the home of the Wattu, Dogar and Gujar tribes, who are notorious for their turbulent and rebellious character. Every year the floods overspread the land far and wide, and when the water subsides so many jungles spring up all over this country owing to the great moisture, that a pedestrian has great difficulty in travelling. How then can one ride ? It is called the Lakhi Jangal (forest of a hundred thousand trees). The wicked men of this plain, owing to the shelter afforded by the impassable jungle—which stretches over leagues in length and breadth—become ambussadors, highwaymen and thieves. The hand of the imperial commanders cannot reach them for chastisement."[13]

At the time of the death of Alamgir, Kabul and the Punjab were held by Prince Muhammad Muazzam (latter Bahadur Shah). Munim Khan was his deputy governor at Lahore. Munim Khan was the son of Sultan Beg of the Barlas tribe who had been in imperial service for long and had served at Agra and in Kashmir. After the death of his father Munim Khan went to the Deccan in search of employment where by "his righteousness and skilled service," he won the favour of Ruhullah Khan, who appointed him the keeper of his seal. Later he was appointed *Diwan* of Prince Muhammad Muazzam and then Diwan of Bengal. In the 49th year of Alamgir's reign he was appointed governor of the Punjab or deputy of the prince and the *faujdari* of Jammu was added to his charge. "By his judicious dealings and bravery he subdued the seditious and turbulent men of the province and settled all affairs with equity and justice."[14] When Prince Muazzam went to Delhi to contest the throne, Munim Khan's *mansab* was advanced to 5000 zat/5000 sawar. He was given the title of Khan Khanan, a *togh* and kettle drums. After the accession of Bahadur Shah he was appointed *wazir*. He was latter sent against Banda but failing to caputre him he felt so humiliated and heartbroken that he went into

retirement and died soon after. Munim Khan was without pride or arrogance. He was generous and kind-hearted and punctilious in the discharge of his official duties. He was a poet and wrote a treatise Ilhamat-i-Munimi and was charged with heterodoxty.[15]

Bahadur Shah was mainly occupied in the early years of his reign in settling the affairs of Rajputana and fighting against his brother, Kim Bakhsh. During his absence the Sikhs led by Banda carried fire and sword in Sarhind, Saharanpore, and the Jullunder Doab. The Emperor shifted his capital to Lahore in 1710 and died there in 1712.

On the accession of Jahandar Shah, Zabardast Khan with the new title of Ali Mardan Khan III was appointed to Lahore. On his death soon after the accession of Farrukh Siyar, Abdul Samad Khan (who later received the title of Dilir Jung) was appointed the governor of Lahore in 1713. The immediate task assigned to him was the suppression of the Sikhs and the restoration of law and order in the much harried province of the Punjab.

The Sikhs in the Punjab

The Sikhs rising under their new leader Banda in 1710 had become a serious challenge to Mughul authority in the Punjab. The career of Banda is typical of a social revolution where the dominating factors, beside personal ambition, are religious frenzy and widespread discontent caused by economic exploitation by an upper class. The success which the Sikhs achieved in successfully defying the central authority of the state and eventually establishing an independent, though short-lived, kingdom, was entirely due to the failure of the Mughul government to recognize the extent and the nature of the disaffection amongst the subject races and their utter failure to redress the legitimate grievances of the subjects and suppress the rising in its initial stages. The insurrection of the Sikhs which came to a head in the time of Bahadur Shah was the culmination of their earlier latent disaffection which first appeared in the time of Jahangir. The policy of the Mughuls after Guru Arjan's woeful affair was by turns either weak and conciliatory or too stern and repressive.

Guru Govind had died in the Deccan on 7 October 1708. According to his instructions there was to be no personal Guru in the future, the Holy Granth embodying the teachings of the Gurus being henceforth to be regarded as the chief guide. The political leadership of

the Gurus was now assumed by one Banda, an efficient but ruthless organiser, who led the revolt against Mughul authority, launched the *panth* on the war path and laid the foundations on which Sikh power was latter raised.

Banda was bron on 27 October 1670 at Rajauri in a Rajput peasant family. Very little is known of his early life. According to legend the sight of a dying dove which he had killed while hunting caused such a revulsion to bloodshed that he decided to take to the life of a *bairagi*. He changed his name from Lachman Das to Madho Das and started travelling in the country. He reached Nasik on the banks of the Godavari and became a disciple of Yogi Aughar Nath. After the latter's death he moved south to Nander in the former state of Haiderabad and established a monastery of his own. He met Guru Govind Singh in September 1708, was converted to the Sikh faith and latter when the Guru was mortally stabbed, he was commissioned to go to Punjab and resume the struggle against Mughul authority which had been temporarily suspended after the conciliation of the Guru by Bahadur Shah. He was given a drum, a banner and five arrows as emblems of his authority. He was enjoined by the Guru "to remain pure in conduct and never to touch another man's wife, to be true in word and deed."[16] How far he followed these precepts is shown by his subsequent career.

He left the Deccan for the Punjab and his first victims were Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of Sarhind and his Hindu assistant Sucha Nand, who had been involved in the execution of Guru Govind Singh's sons.[17] The Sikh sardars and the Sikh peasantry joined him in large numbers as they had their own scores to settle with the officers of the Mughuls. Reaching the Punjab he marched on Sarhind, plundering and destroying Muslim places, on his way, capturing Samana then held by Jalal-ud-Din on 26 November 1709. The town was completely destroyed and ten thousand Muslims killed in the campaign. He next attacked Kapuri held by Qadam-ud-Din and plundered and set fire to it. His next objective was Sadhaura. The faujdar, Usman Khan, was universally hated and he had added to his other crimes by torturing to death the venerable saint Sayyid Badar-ud-Din Shah (popularly known as Budha Shah). The town was plundered, the mausoleum of Qutbul Aqtab was set on fire and the population massacred. The

mansion of Sayyid Budha Shah where some people had taken refuge, was not spared. The place came to be known as *Qatalgarhi* (the place of slaughter).

The turn of Sarhind "which represented everything that was abominable to the Sikhs" and which was a place of pilgrimage for the Muslims came next. The Sikhs had by this time mustered in large numbers, 40,000 according to Khafi Khan ; while Wazir Khan had about 20,000 men at his disposal.[18] Muhammad Qasim gives the following account of the battle fought 10 miles from Sarhind, that ensued :

"The Sikhs," says the author of the Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind, "came face to face with the Mohammadans, rapidly discharged their muskets, and reduced the battle to a hand to hand fight. The commander of the Mohammadans (Wazir Khan) and some of his men fought so bravely that heaps of the bodies of the infidels (Sikhs) fell to the ground, piled one upon another, and there was din on all sides like that of Doomsday. At last the whole Mohammadan army was destroyed. Wazir Khan then came face to you with Baj Singh, shouting: "Be careful, you dirty dog,' and rushed upon him with a lance. Baj Singh snatched the weapon from Wazir Khan and sturck it on the head of his horse and wounded it. After a while Wazir Khan pulled out an arrow from his quiver and thrust it in the arm of Baj Singh. Then drawing his sword he sprang forward to make an end of him. Fateh Singh, who was standing nearby, took out his sword and struck Wazir Khan with it so strongly that it passed through his shoulder down to his waist and his head fell to the ground."[18]

Confusion spread in the Mughul rank. and the Sikhs fiercely fell upon them. "Not a man of the army of Islam," says Khafi Khan, "escaped with more than his life and the clothes he stood in. Horsemen and footmen fell under the sword of the infidels (Sikhs), who pursued them as far as Sarhind."[19]

After the battle the city was ransacked and its populace indiscriminately slaughtered. Buildings were razed to the ground, mosques were desecrated, graveyards were dug open. Harrowing details of the atrocities committed by the soldiers of Banda and those who had flocked to his banners are given in contemporary accounts. Immense booty estimated at several crores of rupees fell into the hands of

Banda. The mausoleum of Mujaddid Alf Sani escaped these vandals. The curse, however, is still attached to the city, and even now a pious Sikh, when travelling to the north or south of Sarhind, may be seen pulling out a brick or two from its ruins and conveying them to the waters of the Satluj or the Jamuna.

Banda proceeded to appoint his own officers to vacant posts, and the entire country from Karnal to Ludhiana, yielding a revenue of thirty six lakhs a year passed into the hands of the Sikhs.

Since the time of Guru Govind Singh quite a number of Muslims had supported him and joined his ranks. Said Beg and Maimu Khan who had been sent to fight against the Sikhs had later taken service under him. He had a contingent of Afghan mercenaries also. After Banda Singh's exploits in Samana, Sadhura and Sarhind many Muslims out of fear or hope of worldly advancement were converted to Sikhism.

"The authority of that deluded sect (of the Sikhs) had reached such extremes," wrote Amin-ud-Daulah in June 1710, " that many Hindus and Mohammedans finding no alternative to obedience and submission, adopted their faith and ritual. Their chief (Banda Singh) captivated the hearts of all towards his inclinations and, whether a Hindu of a Mohammedan, whoever came in contact with him, was addressed as a Singh. Accordingly Dindar Khan, a powerful ruler of the neighbourhood, was named Dindar Singh, and Mir Nasir-ud-Din, the official reporter of Sarhind, became Mir Nasir Singh. In the same way, a large number of Mohammedans abandoned Islam and followed the misguided path (of Sikhism) and took solemn oaths and firm pledges to stand by Banda."[20]

Banda now made Mukhlispur, near Sadhaura, his headquarters. The old fort there was repaired and rechristened Lohgarh. Coins were struck in the name of the Sikh Gurus and an official seal was introduced. He is credited with having abolished the zamindari system and laid the fouudation of peasant proprietoship in the Punjab.

Elated by his recent victories Banda now turned to the Gangetic Doab. He marched with a large force against Saharanpur. Ali Hamid Khan, the faujdar of Saharanpur, fled to Delhi and the town fell to the Sikhs. Next Behat, seventeen miles to the north of Saharanpur, was sacked and Pirzadas of the place killed to a man. Banda then proceeded against Jalalabad founded by an Afghan, Jalal Khan. The latter

having refused to submit to the Sikh demands, Jalalabad was attacked, the Sikhs plundering on the way Ambheta and Nanauta on 21 July 1710. A stiff battle followed and the town was sacked and destroyed and has since been called the *Phuta Shahr*. Jalalabad was left unmolested as Banda had to return to Jallunder Doab at the request of his Sikh confederates.

The Sikhs now called upon Shams Khan, the *faujdar* of Jullunder, to hand over the treasures to him, which demand was refused. A jihad against the Sikhs was declared and the Sikhs returned to Rahun about seven miles from Sultanpur. They were beseiged there but they secretly left the entrenchments reappearing again and capturing the fort on 12 October, 1710. Jullunder and Hoshiarpore were occupied soon after. Batala, Kalanaur and Pathankot were captured next.

The Sikhs one moved against Lahore. The governor of Lahore, Sayyid Aslam Khan, because of his limited resources kept within the city while the Muslim populace and several Hindus insisted upon fighting the Sikhs in the open. The religious leaders of the city proclaimed a jihad, raised a green flag called the Haidari and sent out voluntears against the Sikhs The mujahids were defeated in two battles and finally dispersed in the battle of Bhilowal. This gave the mastery to the Sikhs over the whole of the Punjab east of Lahore. Banda and his Sikhs were feared all around and legends grew about the supernatural powers possessed by Banda and his invulnerability against any weapon.

Bahadur Shah was in Rajputana when he heard of the depredations of the Sikhs. He left Ajmer on 27 June, 1710 and moved to the north. A large army was collected and sent against the Sikhs who had gathered at Sadhaura. The Imperialists after heavy losses drove the enemy towards Lohgarh. They were besieged in the fort which was closely invested. As provisions ran short Banda decided to make a sally leaving a devoted follower, Gulab Singh clothed in his own dress in the fort. Banda succeeded in escaping to the hills of Nahan. The fort was captured but the escape of Banda was a source of bitterness and disappointment to the Imperialists. Gulab Singh and Raja Rup Prakash of Nahan were taken prisoners.

Banda from his retreat issued *hukumnamas* (orders) to the Sikh chiefs calling on them to join him at Kiratpore. He turned against

hill chiefs who had caused so much trouble to Guru Govind Singh. To successfully fight against the Mughul government conciliation or elimination of these chiefs was essential from a military point of view. Raja Bhim Chand of Kulu refused to submit. He was worsted in a brief campaign and his capital Bilaspore stormed and plundered. The Rajas of Mandi and Chamba discreetely submitted and the latter gave Banda in marriage a girl from his family. From the hills Banda next made several raids into the plains. He defeated the *faujdar* of Jammu on 4 June, 1711 near Bahrampur and then turned to Kalanaur and Batala. The Mughul general Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan kept up the pursuit but Banda driven away from one place would appear in another keeping the inhabitants of the countryside in a constant state of terror.

Abdus Samad Khan : Governor of Lahore 1713-1726
Governor of Multan 1726-1737

During the civil war which followed the death of Bahadur Shah on 18 Febuary, 1712. Banda succeeded in recovering the lost territories. Farrukh Siyar on his accession appointed Abdus Samad Khan as Governor of Lahore and his son Zakariya Khan as *faujdar* of Jammu. A more vigorous and properly organized campaign was now launched against the Sikhs.

Abdus Samad Khan was descended from the family of the distinguished Muslim Sufi Shaikh, Khwaja Nasir-ud-Din Abdullah (Ubaidullah, d February 1490/91) grandson of Khwaja Shihab-ud-Din Ahrar. Abdul Karim, the father of Abdus Samad Khan, came from Samarkand, his ancesral home, to India and was for some time settled in Akbarabad. Abdus Samad was born there. When he was two or three years of age his father took him back to Samarkand where he received his early education. After the death of his father he attached himself to Subhan Quli Khan of Turan. He was appointed Shaikh-ul-Islam of Samarkand but there appears to have been a change of fortune and Abdus Samad returned to India during the reign of Alamgir[1].

Abdus Samad Khan was given a *mansab* of 600 (400 according to another account) and later rose to the *mansab* of 1500 and was given the title of Abdus Samad Khan, the name by which he is better known in history, and a *khit la*and *sarpech.* He had married the dau-

ghter of his uncle, Khwaja Zakariya, his wife's sister being married to Nawab Muhammad Amin Khan, Chin Qulich Khan. He distinguished himself in the military operations against the Marahathas.

He fell out of favour in the time of Bahadur Shah as a result of an altercation with the latter's son, Azim-ush-Shan. He was divested of his post and was ordered to procaed on Hajj. The death of Bahadur Shah and the civil war that followed restored his fortune. He supported Muhammad Muiz-ud-Din and in recognition of his services his *mansab* was raised to seven thousand and was given the *sadarat-i-huzur* and the title of Ghalib Jung. Farrukh Siyar later appointed him the *subadar* of Lahore and for his successful operations against the Sikhs he was given the titl of Diler Jung. In the time of Muhammad Shah he was appointed the Governor of Multan and received the title of Saif-ud-Daulah.[21] He died on 26 July, 1737 and was buried in Begumpura.[22]

In 1713 the Sikhs were forced to evacuate Sadhaura and Lohgarh, Banda returning to Jammu Hills. The imperial armies could not dislodge them from their mountain retreat and several officers, including Bayezid and his nephew Shams Khan, lost their lives in skirmishes. The hit and run tactics of the Sikhs did not last long and on 1715, Banda reappeared in the plains. He was hotly pursued by the Imperialists. He fortified Gurdas Nangal and decided to stand a siege. The siege was pressed but the Sikhs refused to surrender.

According to Muhammad Qasim "the brave and daring deeds of the infernal Sikhs were amazing. Twice or thrice a day, some forty or fifty of these blackguards would come out of their enclosure to gather grass for their animals, and when the combined forces of the Imperialists went to oppose them, they made an end of the Mughuls with arrows, muskets and small swords and disappeared. Such was the terror of these people and the fear of the sorceries of their chief that commanders of the royal army prayed that God might so ordain things that Banda should seek his safety in flight from the *Garhi*."[23] The siege dragged on for eight months and in spite of shortage of provisions the Sikhs had to feed on bullocks and horses, leaves of trees, or even their own flesh cut off from their thighs. Reduced to straits with eight thousand of his men having died, Gurdas Nangal was occupied by the imperial forces on 7 December, 1715 and Bda aannd his follo-

wers who had survived the ordeal were taken prisoners. Several of them were executed but Banda and his followers were first taken to Lahore and then despatched to Delhi in charge of Zakariya Khan, the son of Abdus Samad Khan. The party reached Delhi on 29 February, 1716. A huge crowd lined the road from Agharabad to the Lahori gate of Delhi, a distance of seven miles. According to contemporary eye witnesses' accounts[24] there was joy and a feeling of relief amongst the Muslims while the Sikh prisoners showed complete indifference to their impending fate being quite happy and contented with their lot. "It is not a little remarkable," wrote a member of the English Embassy at the Mughul Court, "with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one has apostasized from the new formed religion."[25] About 100 prisoners were executed every day. Banda and his leading companions were closely interrogated about those who had been in league with them and the places where they had hidden their booty but without success. On 9 June, 1716 Banda was executed along with other of his followers.[26] Muhammad Amin Khan impressed by the noble bearing of Banda asked him, "It is surprising that a man possessed of so much acuteness and nobility should have involved the world in so much misery and brought calamity upon himself." Banda replied with greatest composure, "Whenever corruption in men increases so as to outstep all bounds, then the Divine Avenger raises up a scourge like me to chastise the race so depraved, but afterwards, he grants power to men like you to punish him in return."[27]

Banda Bahadur died according to his own beliefs, a martyr for a cause and he led the Sikh movement against foreign rule which was, as far as the peasantry was concerned, tyrannical and cruel. He set an example of winning adherents to his religion, absolute fearlessness of death and the ability to stand hardships. He was executed but his execution did not kill the agrarian discontent and the determination of the virile war-like Jats of Majha and Malwa to follow the example of the Marahathas and the Jats who had found independent principalities, in the western provinces of the Mughul Empire. This was a great triumph for Abdus Samad Khan, and he now set himself to the restoration of peace and prosperity in the much harried province.

Isa Khan :

Isa Khan Mabin (also written Main and Mohin) belonged to the Ranghar tribe, The Ranghars according to the author of Maasir-ul-Umara lived in the *chakla* of Sarhind and Patha Duab.[28] They are agriculturists by profession though not averse to highway robbery. Isa Khan's grandfather was the first to acquire a position of brigandage. During the civil war following the death of Alamgir, he made full use of the unsettled condition in the country, plundered caravans and did not spare even the royal treasure carts passing that way. After the victory of Jahandar Shah he received the *mansab* of 5000 and the *faujdari* of Patha-Duab and of Lakhi Jungle- "As opportunism and a careful survey of the situation" writes Shah Nawaz Khan, "are the marks of Zamindars, particularly of usurpers who always indulge in creating disturbances," Isa rebelled and took to plunder after the death of Jahandar Shah. He, however, kept on good terms with Samsam-ud-Daulah Khan-i-Dauran and his presumptuousness and highhandedness went unpunished. He was in complete possession of the territory from Badrisa on the banks of the Beas to the town of Tharah in Sarhind on the Sutlaj.

Abdus Samad Khan after his hands were free from the recent struggle against the Sikhs commissioned Shahdad Khan Khweshgi to proceed against Isa Khan[29] after his remonstrances had failed. Shahdad Khan was not very keen about the assignment but he led an army against Isa Khan and in the battle fought near Taarah, the birth place of Isa Khan, the latter was killed. His zaminnari reverted to his son.

Husain Khan

Husain Khan Khweshgi was the eldest son of Sultan Ahmad. On the death of his father, though he held a *mansab*, he did not repair to the court, for the usual felicitations and rendered no account of the jagir held by him to the *subadar* of Lahore except sending occasional presents. Collecting a large army and a number of followers he "remained inclined on the pillow of dominion" of Qasur. He constantly flouted the Mughul authority. The Afghans of Qasur regarded the original jagir grants as *tamgha* lands, paid no rent and rendered

no account of the revenue from the lands assigned to them. Besides this contumacions disregard of central authority they began to extend their exactious and claimed control of lands near Lahore.

Abdus Samad as was his wont, started by advising the Afghans to return to fealty. He entrusted to Husain Khan the *faujdari* of Lakhi jungle. This only added to the arrogance of the Afghan chief. Abdus Samad Khan sent Qutbuddin Rohilla against him but Husain Khan, in no conciliatory mood, attacked and killed him and looted his property. All efforts to make Husain Khan submit to imperial authority having failed, the governor himself led an army against the Afghans and defeated and killed Husain Khan in a battle at Jhuni[30] on 15 April 1720.[31] He was prudent in business and paid respect to Sayyids and holy men particularly Bhik Baba, a recluse who was highly respected[32] by him and the general public.

Kashmlr Affairs

Abdus Samad Khan was appointed governor of Kashmir in 1721. He appointed Abdullah Khan Dahbedi as his deputy but when disturbances in Kashmir took a serious turn under Mulla Shamsuddin, son of Mahtavi Khan,[33] Abdus Samad went to Kashmir with a large army, defeated the rebels and restored peace and order there.[34] During the Kashmir campaign Dhoop Deo of Jammu and Anand Deo zamindar, rose in rebellion and captured several parganas. Abdus Samad could not attend to this rebellion on account of the death of his wife. In the time of Zakariya Khan, when their refractoriness increased, the Governor with Adina Beg, who was then *faujdar* of Sialkot went against the rebels. Abdus Samad Khan joined his son from Multan. The rebels were defeated and captured but were let off on promising to pay tribute.[35]

The Sikhs

The defeat and execution of Banda had for the time being suppressed the Sikh rising, scattered and dispersed them and restored peace in the province. The subsequent Mughul policy dictated by fear and a spirit of vindictiveness, resulted in a countrywide man hunt of the Sikhs and the indiscriminate and senseless persecution drove the Sikhs into the hills. Their opportunity came again when

Abdus Samad Khan was engaged in suppressing the Afghan and Ranghar rebels. The Sikhs, when persecution slowed down, began to assemble in large numbers on the occasion of *baisakhi* and Diwali at Darbar Sahib, Amr.tsar.[36] The Sikhs were themselves divided but the division amongst the Sikhs as to who was to be their leader was resolved through the good offices of Mata Sundari[37] who sent Mani Singh to Amritsar. By 1721 it appeared that the Sikhs were united and strong enough to launch another round of armed resistance to Mughul authority.

The Sikhs first turned their wrath against such quislings as had been collaborating with the Mughul Government and betraying them. When a quarrel broke out between a group of Hindus and the Sikhs, the former sought the intervention of the Governor of Lahore. The Sikhs defeated and dispersed a force sent against them under one Aslam Khen. This made the government once again follow a hard policy against the Sikhs and a police post was established at Amritsar. In the meantime Abdus Samad Khan was transferred to Multan in 1726 and his son Zakariya Khan was appointed the Governor of Punjab.

Abdus Samad Khan died in 1737. He was a soldier, scholar and statesman and was respected and honoured because of his noble descent and relationship w'th the leading Turani group. He was a dauntless solider and an able general. He was cultured and refined and loved the company of Ulema and poets. He was extremely generous, fed a large number of people daily and distributed 3000 garments every year. Pious, god/fearing, noble minded, he led an exemplary life in the age when the upper classes, with a few execptions, were sunk in debauchery and sensuous pleasures. He was a sagacious and wise statesman. He interceded with Asad Khan on behalf of Chin Qulich Khan and opposed Nizam-ul-Mulk's move to reimpose *jiziya*. He and his son were responsible for giving peace nnd security to Punjab during their time sueh as that province had never enjoyed befor or after them.

ZAKARIYA KHAN, GOVERNOR OF PUNJAB AND MULTAN

Zakariya Khan, the son of Abdus Samad Khan was thirteen years

of age when his father was appointed Governor of Lahore in 1713. Zakariya was later appointed *faujdar* of Jammu. He was associated with his father in suppressing the Sikhs and restoring law and order in the province. He served as viceroy of Kashmir from 1720 to 1726. On account of his disagreement with his father[38] who had failed to take action against Nawab Mir Momin Khan, naib Nazim who had in association with Muhammad Khan, a notorious bandit of Auliyapur, oppressed the subjects, Zakariya Khan went to Delhi and obtained the *sanad* for the Governorship of Lahore in 1726. He was married to the daughter of Nawab Qamaruddin Khan which enhanced his prestige and influence at the imperial court. He later got the title of Nawab Khan Bahadur. His policy of placating the Sikhs was taken by them as a sign of weakness. They organized themselves into five jathas, each consisting of 1300 to 2000 men with their own dress and banner. They started raiding the villages in Bari Doab and as far out as Hansi. Diwan Lakhpat Rai was sent against them. He drove them out of Bari Doab and defeated them near Amritsar. Another Sikh contingent fell on the Mughul army near Hujra Shah Muqim and defeated and killed a large number of the imperial soldiers. The Government retaliated by capturing Amritsar and executing Bhai Mani S ngh in 1738.

In 1738 when Nadir Shah invaded India, Zakariya Khan offered whatever resistance he could but was defeated on 21 January 1739, and had to pay 20 Lakhs of rupees to save Lahore. He was reinstated by Nadir Shah who took away his son Hayatullah Khan and Dalpat Rai, son of Lakhpat Rai as hostages to Delhi. The Sikhs taking advantage of the disturbed condition harried and plundered the baggage train of Nadir Shah on the latter's return march to his country. The Shah questioned Zakariya Khan as to who these daring free-booters were, to which Zakariya replied, "They are a group of *faqirs* who visit their Guru's tank twice a year, and after bathing in it disappear," "Where do they live?" asked Nadir. "Their homes are their saddles," was the reply. Nadir warned him, saying "Take care, the day is not distant when these rebels will take possession of the country."[39]

On the return of Nadir hah, Zakariya Khan decided once again

to hunt out the Sikhs. Price was put on the head of a Sikh but the Sikhs went into hiding coming out now and then to harass the Mughul officers. One of their daring exploits was to cut off the head of Massa Ranghar who was in charge of the temple right in the midst of a dancing party. Mehtab Singh, the murderer, was hunted from village to village but he evaded capture. He was later apprehended and broken on the wheel in Lahore. Another desperado Buta Singh began to levy toll on the highway to Lahore and continued his ravages till he was killed in an open fight by the governor's soldiers. Hundreds of Sikhs were captured and brought to Lahore. They were executed at the *Nakhas* (the horse-market of Lahore). This place was later named Shahidganj. Jang Panah, a Bhatti sedition - monger who terrorised the country from Hasan Abdal to the banks of the Ravi was captured and killed. Another zamindar Jang Mir Mar was hanged.[40]

Zakariya Khan died on 1 July 1945. He was an efficient and capable administrator and did much to restore peace and order. His stern measures against the Sikhs which they fully deserved restored peace for the time being. These harsh measures however steeled the determination of the Sikhs to fight for their rights. Many uprooted peasants joined them and the Sikh movement became a peasant war. Zakariya was, however, a just and able administrator, generous and humane and a well wisher of his subject whom he protected from oppression. When Nadir Shah on his return offered to grant him any boon he asked for, Zakariya asked for and secured the release of numerous prisoners in Nadir's camp. He was idolised by the people. According to Anand Ram Mukhlis "There was so much grief for him among all people, especially in the city of Lahore, that for three nights in succession no lamp was lighted in any house. Thousands and thousands followed his bier through the streets, lamenting aloud, beating their breasts, and heaping up flowers on his bier, till at last not a handful of flowers was left in the city."[41]

THE SUCCESSORS OF ZAKARIYA KHAN

Zakariya Khan left behind him three sons—Yahya Khan (surnamed Azz-ud-Daulah II) Hayat Ullah Hizabr Jung II (given the name of

Shah Nawaz Khan by Nadir Shah) and Mir Baqi who later faded out of history. Yahya Khan and Hayat Ullah were at the imperial court at the time of their father's death, while Mir Momin and Nimmat Khan were engaged in the expedition against the hill chiefs of Jammu. The two brothers left the court on 7 July 1745. Hayat Ullah stayed in the Doab which was his *faujdari* while Yahya Khan proceeded to Lahore where he arrived on 27 July. Yahya Khan assumed the Governorship of Lahore and Shah Nawaz Khan that of Multan but a civil war between the two brothers continued during the winter of 1746-47. Yahya Khan was the son-in-law of Wazir Qamar-ud-Din who now pressed the Emperor to confirm the *subahdaris* of Lahore and Multan on the two brothers in view of the long association of the family with Lahore where they had built houses, gardens and tombs. But the Emperor, under the influence of the anti-Turani party, did not agree to this proposal. As a result of the indecision of the Emperor in regard to the appointment of a *subahdar*, disturbances broke out and "lawless men, plunderers, and adventurers (who had so long kept themselves in hiding) now crept out of their holes and began to desolate the realm plundering the cities and villages and ruining families. The peace and prosperity given by the just rule of Zakariya Khan were destroyed.[42]

The Zamindars of Jammu rebelled and the Sikhs renewed their depredations causing considerable tumult and trouble. On 21 November 1746, Hayat Ullah came to Lahore and failing to arrive at a settlement with his brother open conflict began between the two. Yahya Khan was defeated and took refuge in the house of his widowed aunt. Hayat Ullah entered the city on 21 March 1747. He seized the property of Azzuddaulah, and put Mir Momin Khan, Mir Nimmat Khan and others in prison. He then sent his Mir Saman to the Emperor with presents, begged pardon for his past conduct and requested him for the *naib Nazimship* of the province. Azzuddaulah who had been living in the house of Durdanah Begum, sister of Zakariya Khan, helped by Hafiz Yar Mohammad and the Afghans of Qasur escaped from the house on 15 December 1747 on a tray of food reaching Delhi on 13 January, 1748. The death of Nadir Shah and the assumption of power by Ahmad Shah, who had crowned himself king on 12 June

opened the gates of trouble for the imperial sts. Abdali soon occupied Kabul and then sent an army to occupy Peshawar and plunder the plains up to Attock. Hayat Ullah is reported to have invited Abdali to invade India. He had embraced the Shia religion "replacing the names of the Timurid emperors on his official seal by the names of the 12 Imams."

Abdali arrived near Lahore on 8 January 1748 with an army of 18000 soldiers. Earlier, one Sabir, a *Darwesh* who was the spiritual guide of Abdali had gone to Lahore to amicably win over Hayat Ullah. The latter exasperated by the insolence of Sabir connived at his murder. Abdali's forces crossed the Ravi on 10 January and defeated Hayat Ullah who fled from the city. Lahore was occupied by the Afghans who, in lieu of 30 Lakhs rupees agreed not to sack it.

Abdali then marched in from Lahore and captured Sarhind. The imperialists had encamped at Manupur. Wazir Qamar-ud-din was killed by a stray cannon ball, but the fight was continued by his son Muin-ul-Mulk and Safdar Jung. The Afghans were defeated and Abdali returned home. Muhammad Shah appointed Muin-ul-Mulk as the Governor of Lahore.

THE SIKHS 1745-1748

Yahya Khan confirmed Lakhpat Rai in his post of Diwan. He collaborated with the governor in following a policy of repression against the Sikhs. In 1746, Lakhpat's brother Jaspat Rai, the *farujdar* of Eminabad was killed in an open battle with the Sikhs and Eminabad was plundered by the latter. This infuriated Lakhpat Rai who persuaded the governor to take action against the rebels. The Sikhs in Lahore were captured and executed. A general hunt of the Sikhs began and 7000 Sikhs were killed and 3000 prisoners were executed in June 1746. This mass execution is known as first *ghallugara* or holocaust. Further operations against the Sikhs had to be given up on account of the fratricidal war. When Shah Nawaz assumed the office as governor he arrested and put in jail Lakhpat Rai in a bid to win over the Sikhs. A Sahjdari Sikh Kaura Mal was appointed Minister.

Section III

KABUL

Kabul, after the defeat of Mirza Hakim hed been directly administered by the Mughuls. After the loss of Qandhar, its importance as a Mughul outpost against the Persians and the Uzbegs had diminished, but for communications with Peshawar and Delhi and as a frontier province the Mughul government had to maintain its hold on it and Aurangzeb Alamgir had to suppress the risings of the Afridis and the Yusufzais. As a result of his strong policy softened by diplomacy, Alamgir had succeeded in maintaining peace in the province under his able governor, Amir Khan (1677-1697). His son. Shah Alam, was appointed governor in 1699 and conformed in that post till 1707. Ibrahim Khan was appointed governor to be replaced by Muhammad Aman, son of Hasain Beg Khan Nasir Jang. After his death in 1717, his son Nasiri Khan was allowed to retain the post as Governor. During the reign of Rafi-ud-Darajat, Sarbland Khan Mubariz-ul-Mulk was appointed governor of Kabul. His son Khanzada Khan, who acted as his deputy, was defeated by Afghan tribes and Sarbland Khan was dismissed and replaced by Nasiri Khan In the second year of his reign, Muhammad Shah cofirmed him in his post and granted him the title of Nasir Khan as he had made a proper settlement of the country and kept the roads in good order."[4]

Nasir Khan was the governor of Kabul at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion. His main difficulty was the lack of funds which he urgently needed for the maintenance of the army and to pay subsidies to the leaders of the Afghan tribes. As the pay of the garrison at Kabul was in arrears, the army was disaffected and civil adiministration had fallen into disorder. Nasir Khan had more ambition and less vigour or tact. As a result of the conflict between Raushan-ud-Daulah and Khan-i-Dauran the subsidy of five lakhs a month, which the governor of Kabul used to receive from Deihi, was discontinued. His appeals to the government at Delhi were not heeded with the result that 4000 of his Afghan soldiers left Kabul for Delhi. They received no favourable response there, and in disgust they returned to Punjab and joined Amir Beg who was then in rebellion against Zakariya

Khan in Sialkot. The latter put down the rebellion with a firm hand. Nasir Khan's jagir in Sialkot was taken over by the governor of Punjab and Nasir sent his own troops to restore order there.

While the governor of Kabul was finding it difficult to keep his soldiers in good humour Nadir Shah was engaged in the siege of Qandhar. Nasir Khan left Kabul in charge of the *qiladar* and returned to Peshawar. He again made a request for the subsidy and informed Delhi about the movements of Nadir Shah and the possibility of his invading India. The Khan-i-Dauran whenever he would receive the governor's letters, would treat them with ridicule and refused to believe that Nadir would ever invade Qandhar or Herat. Hanway remarks : "It was a favourable circumstance for Nadir that the Indian court had kept the monntaineers of the plains in arrears of their pay."[44] The inevitable happened and Nadir Shah set out for Ghazni on 21 May, 1738 and captured Kabul on 11 June, 1739, Jalalabad was stormed and captured and Nadir proceeded to Peshawar. Nasir Khan who tried to check the Shah's advance, was defeated and captured. Nadir Shah later pardoned him and appointed him governor of Kabul which after Nadir's invasion was permanently lost to the Mughuls.

Ahmad Shah before his formal accession to the throne led an expedition against Qandhar. A day before he reached the fort, a convoy had arrived there with two crores of rupees and other valuables as tribute for Nadir Shah. Nasir Khan was one of the three officers who were with the convoy. The treasure was captured by Ahmad Shah. Nasir Khan refused to accept Ahmad Shah as successor of Nadir Shah. He was put in prison. After his accession Ahmad Shah set Nasir Khan at liberty and "confirmed him in the government of Kabul. Nasir Khan gave his son as hostage to the Abdali ruler and agreed to pay a tribute of five lakhs and give his daughter in marriage to the Shah."

Nasir Khan on his return toKabul called upon the citizens to contribute a sum of two crores of rupees which he had promised to pay the Shah. The Afghans of Kabul refused to meet the demand Nasir Khan afraid of the consequences, fled to Peshawar and made

military preparations against the Shah. Ahmad Shah in retaliation captured Ghazni and Kabul. The deputy Governor of Kabul appointed by Nasir Khan fled away and Abdali appointId his own officers there. Nasir Khan's wife fell into the hands of Ahmad Shah but was treated with respect by him. The Shah sent his *sipahslar* Sardar Jahan Khan, in advance against Nasir Khan.

Nasir Khan now set out to block the Khyber Pass. He sacked the fortress of Hasht Nagar driving the leading Afghan chief Abdus Samad Khan into the camp of the Durranis. When Jahan Khan followed by Ahmad Shah entered the Khyber Pass Nasir Khan who had retired to Peshawar fled and sought refuge in Chach Hazara From there he went to Lahore where he arrived on 15 November 1747 and then marched away to Delhi. Ahmad Shah captured Peshawar. He was joined by the leading Afghans· chiefs and his empire now extended to Indus river. Ahmad Shah now prepared to invade the Punjab.

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CHAPTER VIII

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3. Bazaz, op. cit. pp. 371-72.
4. Jadunath Sarkar, The India of Aurangzeb, Bose Brothers 54/1, College Street (1901), Calcutta, pp. 111, 112, 122.
5. He was the son of Ali Mardan Khan. This was his fourth appointment as governor·
6. Ḥe was the son of Abdullah Khan, the ruler of Kashgar. He was first appointed governor of Kashmir in 1705.
7. For his earlier career see Maasir-ul-Umara, Eng. Tran. Vol. I, pp. 680-82. Ḥe was the son of Shukrullah whose wife Hafiza Maryam was the tutor of Zebunnisa. From a small rank he attāined to the mansab of 7000, was appointed Mir Saman and acted as deputy wazir for sometime during the reign of Mohammad Shah. He died in 1726-27.
8. According to Khwaja Mohammad Azam he was a man of accomplishment and held in esteem by the Iranians. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 218.
9. Mahbub Khan, alias Abdun Nabi Kashmir according to Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 867-71,
10. The date of his arrival in Kashmir is to be found in the following chronogram.
11. Son of Aghar Khan I, (d. 1690 A.C.) see aasir-ul-Umara Vol. I, p· 274.
12. J.N. Sarkar, the India of Aurangzeb, op. cit, pp. 110-111.
13. Ibid, pp. 186-87.
14. Maasir-ul-Umara, Trāns. Vol. II, p. 293.
15. Ibid. Khafi Khan, 675 ; Irvine Vol. I, pp. 125-127.
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17. Zorawar Singh and Fath Singh had been betrayed by a Hindu ānd handed over to Wazir Khan in 1704 and were later executed.
18. Khafi Khan, Muntakhib-ul-Lubab, II, p· 653.
19. Muhammad Qasim, Ibrat Nama, p. 21.
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23. Ibrat Nama, p. 42.
24. See Mirza Wuhammad, Ibrat Nama, Sayyid Mohammad, Farhat-un-Nazirin, C.R. Wilson, Early Annals of the English in Bengal, II, 752.
25. J. Talboys, Wheeler, The Early Records of British in India, London, p. 180.
26. According to a Sikh tradition Banda was tied to an elephant and left on the banks of the Jamma as dead. He recovered however and found his way to Dera Baba Banda, where he lived and died in 1741.
27. Siyar ul Mutaakhirin, 403, Khafi Khan, ii, 766-67.
28. Beveridge without any authority identified it with Etah and considered the alternative reading Thalha as incorrect.
29. See Massir ul Umara, Tr. I, pp. 687-689. Asrar-i-Samadi, p. 17.
30. Twenty hos from Lahore. Beni Prasada identifies it with Chunia, Maasir, op cit, I, 643.
31. See Asrar-i-Samadi, ed. Shujahuddin, Research Society of Pakistan, 1965, section III, pp. 24-30.
32. Khafi Khan, II, p. 684. He is called Batak by the author of Maasir ul Umara, tr. I, p. 641 and his name is given as Mohammad Khan Barakzai.
33. See Chapter on Kashmir.
34. See Asrar-i Samadi op. cit, section IV, pp. 30-39.
35. Ibid, Section V, pp. 39-49.
36. These assemblies came to be known as "Sarbat Khalsa".
37. One of the two widows of Guru Govind Singh.
38. Ibid.
39. Ganda Singh, A History of tha Sikhs, pp. 125-126.
40. Ibid.
41. Anand Ram Mukhlis, f. 139.
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43. Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. II. Eng. Tr. p. 384-88.
44. Malleson, History of Afghanistan, p. 269.

CHAPTER IX

SINDH AND BALUCHISTAN

Introduction . Sindh Under the Mughuls

In 1554 after the death of Mirza Shah Husain, son of the Arghun[1] Shah Beg Mirza, Sindh was partitioned amongst Sultan Mahmud Khan Kokaltash and Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan,[2] upper Sindh being governed by the former from his capital at Bhakhar,[3] and the lower Sindh by the latter with his capital at Thatha.[4] Akbar sent an army against Bhakhar in the nineteenth year of his reign and beseiged the fort. Mahmud Khan Kokaltash who had no male issue, offered to surrender to the Mughuls if the siege was raised. He invited Akbar to send a governor to Bhakhar, but died in 1574 before the arrival of the new governor, Gesu Khan. Bhakhar was annexed and became a part of the Subah of Multan. Till the time of Alamgir Aurangzeb Mughul Governors were appoined to Bhakhar, the last governor being Mir Mohammad Akram Hakim[5] who was appointed in 1679, but with the rise of the Kalhoras the appointment of governors from Delhi was discontinued.

Mirza Isa Khan died in 1572 after a reign of eighteen years[6] and was succeeded by his eldest son Mirza Mohammad Baqi much against the wishes of his father. On his death in 1585 Mirza Jani succeeded him. He was an efficient and able ruler but ambitious and warlike. Nawab Muhammad Sadiq Khan was sent against him by Akbar. The Mirza after a stiff fight submitted and sent presents to the Emperor. In 1590 the Mirza again resumed his hostilities and Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim was sent to punish him. The Mirza was defeated and taken to the imperial capital in 1591. Daulat Khan was appointed governor in his place. The Mirza died in 1600 and his minor son, Mirza Ghazi Beg was appointed *naib* of Thatha. From this time onward governors of Thatha were appointed from Delhi, at first from amongst the scions of the Tarkhan dynasty and later from amongst Mughul *mansabdars*. The last Mughul governor appointed by the

imperial government in 1732 was Sadiq Ali Khan. In the time of the Emperor Muhammad Shah a large part of Sindh had been farmed out to the Kalhoras who had attained to considerable power. With the rise of Nur Muhammad the Kalhoras were for all practical purposes independent rulers of Sindh. During the period of direct rule by the Mughuls several chieftains in Sindh had become independent and refused or delayed payment of the stipulated tribute. The Kalhoras restored the appearance of the unity of upper and lower Sindh, established peace and order, promoted trade and industry and patronized men of letters, particularly the *ulema* and the *mashaikh.*

Thatha according to Sujan Rai[8] was a large town and an emporium of all kinds of goods, specially pearls and other articles which were exported from its harbour in plenty. It had mines of salt and iron and a quarry of yellow stones. It had 4000 boats of large and small size. Dried fish was exported in large quantitses, pahwal[9] (pala) fish being the best, and unparalleled in sweetness of taste and flavour. Fruits and flowers of many kinds were found in Sindh.

Hamilton[10] who visited lower Sindh in 1699 found Laribunder five or six leaguse from the sea, capable of accommodating ships of 200 tons. Thatha is described as "the emporium of the province, a very large and rich city. It is about three mlls long and one and a half broad and is at 40 miles distance from Laribunder and has a large citadel on its west and capable of lodging 5000 men and horse and has barracks and stables convenient for them with a palace built in it for the nabob "[11]

Hamilton was impressed by the splendour of the governor's house, the boats, the fertility of the fields and cheapness of food and abundance of supplies, particularly rich cotton cloth, hides, and other leather goods. According to Manrique (1641), "these leathers are used as table covers and as hangings in reception rooms and as bed covers, as they are very soft and cool in the hot weather. They were used also for horse trappings."[12]

Bhakhar had a strong fort, the strongest place of defense in Sindh. Manrique was struck by Bhakhar for "its fresh and cheerful aspect from being surrounded by gardens and grooves of trees."[13] It was noted for the flourishing trade "on account of camel trains that

leave every year for Persia, Khorasan and other distant places."[14] It had flourishing trade in leather goods as well as cotton goods. Bhakhar was a sarkar in the subah of Multan.

Section I

SINDH UNDER THE KALHORAS

The Origin of the Kalhoras

Most of the writers on Sindh regard, particularly the foreigners, the Kalhoras as of Sindhi origin. According to Burton : "the Kalhoras were originally Channo Sindhis and therefore converted Hindus. When the family rose to distinction it asserted its right to be called Bani Abbas. But their Shajaro or geneological tree was pronounced by the learned to be a complete failure. Upon this they sent a messanger to copy the documents in the possession of the holy men of Sehrah Khatibah and when the latter offered some objection, the Kalhoro confiscated their fiefs, attacked and destroyed their villages carried off the copper plates upon which the Shajaro was delineated and then became undoubted descendants from Abbas and Murshids."[15]

According to the author of *Tuhfatul Kiram* the claim of the Kalhoras to their descent from Hazrat Abbas is confirmed by authoritative accounts. The Kalhoras themselves claim descent from the Abbasids and this claim is supported by many writers contemporary and latter and the weight to the claim of the Kalhoras as of being the descendants of Hazrat Abbas is on their side.[16] No official history of the Kalhoras was compiled during the times of Mian Yar Mohammad (1701-1719) or Mian Nur Mohammad (1719-1753). It was Mian Ghulam Shah Khan (1757-1772) who commissioned Mir Qani to write a history of the Abbasi Kalhoras as they came to be known then.[17] From that onward the, Abbasi origin of the Kalhoras was generally accepted.[18]

The family traced its origin from one Mian Odhari, a sufi of great repute and with a considerable following who had settled in Kich Mekran. The sixth in descent from him, Chuniya, acquired considerable property and secured the title of Jam from the governor

of Multan. He had eighteen sons from his twelve wives and the Daudpotras are the descendants of one of his sons, Daud. The ninth in descent was Adam Shah who had met Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpuri. He became his disciple and gathered a considerable following His property in land increased with his popularity as a spiritual leader. This enlargement of his landed property brought him in conflict with the local zamindars who complained to the governor of Bhakhar. He was attacked and defeated, his followers dispersed and he himself was captured and put to death. He was buried on a hill on the high road to Shikarpur. His descendants went and settled in Larkana. His son, Daud II succeeded him and inspite of loss of several *zamindaris* his popularity grew amongst the people of Sindh. He was succeeded by his son, Mian Ilyas and after him Mian Shah Ali, alias, Shahil Mohammad occupied the *masnad.* The latter considerably increased his possessions and promoted agriculture by improving irrigation. He died childless in a battle after being defeated by the *zamindars* led by Jam Siddique and Jalal Khan Abru whose lands he had taken over. Mian Nasir Mohammad, the son of Mian Ilyas now secured the leadership in 1668. Though extremely devout and mainly occupied in religious exercises, he was ambitious and full of vigour and courage. He continued the policy of extension of his territories and with the help of his numerous and devoted followers captured several villages. Mirza Khan Panni of Sibi and several other zamindars resorted to force, captured him and sent him to Delhi in the time of Alamgir. He remained in captivity for some time and then returned home. He died in 1692.

Mian Din Mohammad—Mian Yar Mohammad

Mian Din Mohammad, the fifth in descent from Adam Shah, and the eldest son of Mian Nasir Mohammad, succeeded his father in 1692. The rival *zamindars* began their machinations against the Kalhora chief, the lead having been taken by the Panhoras.[19] The followers of Mian Din Mohammad[20] captured Fathpur. On a complaint being lodged with the Mughul Governor, the latter sent a force against the Kalhoras under Mirza Khan Panni. He failed to suppress the Kalhora chief and Amir Shaikh Jahan was next sent against Din Muhammad. The Mughul general was defeated and killed in battle

and the Mughul army routed. In view of these disturbances Allah Yar Khan, *hakim* of Bhakhar, fled the field. After several skirmishes the Panhoras submitted to the Kalhora chief. Prince Muizzuddin, who was then the governor of Lahore and Multan, came to Sindh. He accepted the submission of Mian Din Mohammad who had retired to Sehwan. Resistance to the Mughul governor was continued by Maqsud, a leader of the Sarais and an adherent of the Kalhoras with the result that hostilities started again. Mian Din Mohammad who had realized the futility of resisting the imperial forces personally went to the camp of the Prince. He was taken to Multan in 1699 with two of his relatives and executed there. His younger brother, Mian Yar Mohammad Khan retired to the hills and continued fighting the Mughuls and defeated an army sent against him. Emboldened by his success, he captured Sewistan and Sibi Dora "which is an extensive area running from Sindh to Qandhar" and several other estates. Finding further resistance impossible, he fled to Kalat in 1699-1700.[21]

Yar Mohammad Kalhora, son of Nasir Muhammad Kalhora in about 1707 wrested Shikarpur from the Daudpotras. He obtained from Alamgir a grant of territory and the title of Khuda Yar Khan. By 1711, he had succeeded in considerably increasing his territory and became the most powerful and effective power in Upper Sindh. He may be regarded as "the real founder of the Kalhora dynasty."[22] "Thus the Steel of Damascus has glittered on the plains ; the miraculous club of the Kalhora placed the descendants of mendicants on the throne."[23]

During his absence 1699-1700, Bakhetiyar Khan, son of Mirza Khan Panni had taken over the lands of the Kalhoras. He had been appointed Nazim of Siwistan and flushed with success he started fighting against the Daudpotras. He was later captured and executed. On his return from Kalat after two years, Mian Yar Mohammad Khan recovered his lands and after the death of Bakhtiyar Khan in battle he was invested with a mansab by the Mughuls. The *zamindari* of Bhakhar and Siwistan was conferred on him.[24]

Mir Shahdad Khan Baluch was sent to assist Prince Muizzuddin,

the then governor of Multan against Shah Mohammad, son of Ghazi Khan. Shahdad Khan was granted a jagir and Mian Yar Mohammad got a higher *mansab*. The Prince was so pleased with the show of loyalty that he secured the release of Sahibzada Mir Muhammad and Muhammad Dad Khan sons of Yar Muhammad from the Brohis. The new dignities and territories conferred on the Kalhora chief brought him in conflict with the Brohis of Kalat.

When Mian Yar Mohammad Khan had gone to Kalat his entry there was resisted by the Brohis. In the battle that followed, the Brohi chief Mihrab Khan was killed. Yar Mohammad Khan, however, submitted and surrendered his two sons as hostages,[25] and was permitted to go back to his estate. It was after this that he was allowed to reside in Kalat. In 1701 he returned to Sindh with a Brohi contingent. His followers now joined him in large number. He succeeded in recovering a large number of villages. About 1701, he captured Shikarpur[26] from the Daudpotras and made it his seat of Government. Larkana was captured from Malik Allah Bukhsh, nephew of Bakhtiyar Khan. Raja Lekhi was forced to submit inspite of the fact that the tribe at that time was one of the most powerful and turbulent. He soon after received the title of Khuda Yar Khan from the Mughuls and the grant of the tract between the Indus and the Nara along with a rich Khilaat. The Brohis had for a long time been looking forward to securing Ganjaba but when the place was given to Yar Mohammad they naturally resented it. By 1708 the Kalhoras were in possession of Siwi and Dhadhar and this became a standing source of conflict between them and the Brohis.

Kalhoras and Daudpotras

After the death of Muhammad Chinay Khan the family was split into two branches—the Kalhoras and Daudpotras. Chinay before his death had willed his *dastar*, the symbol of worldly power, to his son Muhammad Mahdi and a copy of the Holy Quran, the rosary and prayer carpet to Mohammad Daud Khan as a symbol of religious preceptorship. With the rise of the power of the Kalhoras as imperial mansabdars, trouble brewed up between the two parties. The Daudpotras were refractory and always in arrears in regard to payment of

revenues. Yar Mohammad was determined to maintasn law and order and collect the royal dues with vigour. An open armed conflict ensued but after six days, fight peace was patched up.

Khuda Yar Khan was an efficient ruler anxious to maintain peace and prosperity of the people. His courage and organizing ability had resulted in the consolidation of the Kalhoras and he may well be considered the real founder of Kalhora power in Sindh. His abilities were recognized by the Mughuls, who entrusted him with the difficult task of controlling the passes into Baluchistan as warden of the marches at a time when the Ghilzais in Qandhar had fallen foul of the Persian Government and Bahadur Shah had once again dreamt of recapturing Qandhar by diplomacy where force had failed earlier. Yar Mohammad Khan had given evidence of real statesmanship and clarity of judgment at that time.

Yar Mohammad Khan had proved himself an able and efficient administrator, a shrewd politician and a far-seeing statesman. His main concern was to suppress rebellious *zamindars* and put down lawlessness and promote peace and prosperity in the country under him. Inspite of financial stringency, he paid the soldiers regularly and adequately, and it was on account of this that his soldiers served him with great devotion. He had to carry on the administration and the defense of the frontier under very difficult conditions and in the face of the opposition of his detractors. He accomplished this with patience and forbearance and in a spirit of dedication for the good of the people and the stability of the government which he was serving.

Though fair minded, and just in dealings with his subjects, Mian Yar Mohammad khan was not above duplicity and political chicanery in the attainment of his objects. Two incidents throw a lurid light on ois chəracter.

Sufi Inayatullah Shah

Sufi Inayatullsh Shah (Shah Inayat) was a descendant of Makhdum Suddu Langah. He left his home at an early age and travelled about the country. He went to the Deccan and spent sometime with Shah Abdul Malik who directed him to go to Shahjahanabad and meet

Shah Ghulam Muhammad. He practised austerities there and then went to Thatha with Shah Ghulam Muhammad. Shah Inayat settled in Miranpur.[27] His fame as a *sufi* ascetie soon spread amongst the neighbouring villages and the number of his disciples grew rapidly. His popularity was regarded as a source of danger to the power and prestige of the local zamindars and that of the Sayyid family of Batri whose followers began to enrol themselves as disciples of Shah Inayat.[28] This breakaway was probably due to the high handedness of the revenue collector as is amply shown by the author of Mazhar-i-Shahjahani. The agrarian unrest made the peasants seek refuge in the Shah's *dargah*. Several *zamindars* and Sayyid Abdul Wasih, head of the Sayyid family of Batri, complained to Mir Lutf Ali Khan (d.1732),[29] who was then the governor of Thatha against the followers of Shah Inayat. The latter permitted them to take whatever action they liked against the Shah. The Sayyid and the *zamindars* raided the *dargah* of Shah Inayat and a number of his followers were killed.

Mir Lutf Ali was succeeded as governor of Thatha by Azam Khan in 1716. He, in order to curb the power of the followers of Shah Inayat, imposed as a punitive measure the usual revenue on rent-free lands attached to the *dargah* and ordered the prompt payment of the government dues. Shah Inayat protested against his order and the governor obtained the permission of the central government to take necessary steps against the recalcitrant peasants and Shah Inayat, their spiritual guide. According to Maqalat-Ush-Shura, Azam Khan had a personal grievance against Shah Sahib. Once when he went to see the Shah, the latter's attendants asked him to wait till the Shah had performed his usual religious practices. When he was admitted to the Shah's presence he remarked : "It does not become a *darwesh* to have darbars at his *Khanqah*" to which the Shah replied : "It is necessary to keep the worldly minded dogs out."[30] The governor collected a large force and with the help of the armed retainers of the local zamindars and the troops of Yar Mohammad Khan headed by his son, Muhammad Khan and Shahdad Baluch attacked the *khanqah* in October 1717. Shah Sahib's followers, inspite of their small number and ill equipment, offered stout resistance

and Jhok could not be captured. Azam Khan returned to Thatha and peace was patched up between the belligerents. Amnesty was granted to the Shah's men whose life and property was to be immune from reprisals.

Shah Sahib went in person to meet Azam Khan who in complete defiance of his plighted word had Shah Inayat executed in January 1718. Azam Khan heavily taxed the people of Thatha to make up for the heavy expenditure on the senseless and cruel battle of Jhok. Makhdum Rahmat Ullah, the celebrated saint and *alim* advised him against this measure. When Azam Khan refused to accept the advice, Shah Sahib left Thatha but was arrested and imprisoned. Azam Khan was recalled and replaced by Nawab Khan, son of Munim Khan in 1137 A.H. Mian Yar Muhammad Khan was rewarded by the grant of several villages for the military assistance rendered by him. That it was in his interest both as a means of increase of worldly resources and to gain the spiritual leadership of the people of Sindh cannot be denied. That he took leading part in the military operations against Shah Sahib and benifitted materially by the latter's death is established by contemporary records. He may not bave been directly responsible for the execution but he threw in hisweight against Shah Sahib. The awkward attempt made by Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mehr to absolve him of all responsibility for the death of Shah Inayat and the slaughter of his followers is unconvincing.[31]

Imtiaz Khan Khalis

Sayyid Mohammad Hussin came to India from Isfahan during the reign of Alamgir. He lived for sometime in Gujarat and married the daughter of the governor. He was a poet and his poetic name was Khalis. He also served in the Deccan and was later transferred to Bihar where he served as Diwan of Patna for a short period during the time of Bahadur Shah. He was the grandfather of Mir Qasim of Bengal. On his retirement from service he decided to return to Iran with immense wealth that he had amassed in India. While passing through Sindh he was waylaid and killed by Yar Mohammad Khan's men who took away all his goods and valuables. Mian Yar Mohammad offered 2000 *ashrafis* to Sayyid Abdul Jalil, the *sawanih*

nigar for not reporting the matter to the imperial court, which the latter refused to accept. Mian Yar Mohammad later explained away the murder by saying that the then governor of Multan had pre-arranged this murder and he himself did not know where and when the murder was committed. According to Ali Sher Qanih[32] Bahadur Shah had appointed Khalis as the Diwan of Thatha and he was killed in the neighbourhood of Thatha.[33] No official inquiry appears to have been made to find out the murderers.

Khudayar Khan died in 1718 and was buried in Khudabad in Taluka Dadu

Section II

MIAN NUR MOHAMMAD KHAN

Yar Mohammad was succeeded by his eldest son Nur Muhammad who was publicly proclaimed as successor on 13 November 1719. His younger brother Mohammad Daud refused to acknowledge his and prepared for war. After three months'[34] negotiations an armed conflict was averted and the brothers were reconciled after some skirmishes.

Nur Mohammad Khan along with his brother Daud, had fled to Kalat when his grandfather had been captured by Prince Muizz-ud-din. The Brohis kept them prisoners but they were later set free by Samunder Khan. He was later appointed *naib-faujdar* of Sarkar Siwistan.

The long standing rivalry between the Kalhoras and Daudpotras came to a head in the time of Mian Nur Mohammad. The latter was an ambitious man and wanted to extend his possessions and sphere of influence amongst the *zamindars* of Sindh by persuasion, by marriage alliances and if need be, by pressure. The Daudpotras were jealous of this and they complained that the terms of the treaty after the battle of Dera Ghazi Khan had not been observed. Conflict came to a head when Mulla Junaid who was formerly an ally of the Daudpotras was won over and honoured with a Khillat, a dagger and a jewelled sword. As a test of his loyalty, Mulla Junaid was commissioned to have Dilawar Khan, a renowned soldier, murdered.

Mulla Junaid invited Dilawar Khan through a common friend and had him murdered.

The murder of Dilawar Khan made an armed conflict inevitable. Amir Mubarak Khan, the chief of the Daudpotras was convinced of the evil intentions of the Kalhoras and raised a large army to fight them. Shikarpur was besieged. After a long siege peace was concluded in February 1724 by which Shikarpur was partitioned among the warning parties.The peace lasted only six months. During the war that followed, the Daudpotras were worsted and forced to retreat to Multan.

In 1716 Mir Abdullah Khan, a younger son of Samunder Khan was the chief of the Brohis. Ambitious, bold and gifted with courage, he extened considerably in all directions the power of Kalat and came to be known as "Shahbaz-i-Kohistan." He attacked Dera Ghazi Khan to help Shah Muhammad Dodai, burnt several villages, plundered the countryside and took a large number of captives.

Mian Nur Muhammad had always remembered with gratitude his release by Samunder Khan when he was for all practical purposes a captive in the hands of the Brohis. A sum of Rs. 40,000 was sent every year, to his former benefactor not as a tribute but in grateful acknowledgement of favours received from Mir Samunder Khan. This gift was discontinued after the death of Mir Samunder Khan. Mir Abdullah Khan, who now became the chief of Gondawa and its immediate neighbourhood in1713 was an inexorable tyrant who defying law as well as reason styled himself as the "Royal Eagle of Baluchistan." Mian Nur Muhammad now set about capturing Sibi and curbing the power of the neighbouring chiefs came in conflict with Abdullah Khan who now had renewed the demand and the cession of Gaiyana and Sibi which had been conferred on the Kalhoras by Prince Muizzuddin. These two districts were coveted by the Brohis as they provided the much needed pasture lands during winter months. The Brohis raided the Kalhora's land and wanted to capture Kachchi. Mian Nur Muhammad defeated the Brohis who sued for peace in 1730. The Brohis broke the peace and attacked Kachchi in 1731. The Brohis were defeated at Jandehr[35] and Abdullah Khan

was killed. Mian Nur Muhammad in pursuance of his poliey of conciliation married two of his sons in the Brohi family. The title of Sabit Jang, the *panj hazari mansab* and *Naubat* were conferred on him by the Emperor. Out of these wars, Mian Nur Muhammad emerged as the most powerful chief of Sindh.

In 1737, Thatha was conferred on Mian Nur Muhammad so that he was now recognized as governor of Bhakhar, Siwistan and Thatha. In 1739, Muhammad Yar Khan was sent to Thatha. He succeeded in a long drawn struggle on land and river in forcing the rulers of Dharaja and Jam Kakrana to submit to him. This work of consolidation of Sindh under Sindhi rulers was interrupted by the invasion of Nadir Shah.

Nadir Shah's Invasion of Sindh

Nadir Shah returned to Kabul on 21 November 1739. From there he summoned Mian Nur Muhammad Khan to Kabui out when the latter did not respond to the call he decided to invade Sindh. Earliar, Nadir had demanded tribute and a contingent of 2000 men commanded by Nur Mohammad so as to serve with the Persian army. To the demand for tribute, Nur Muhammad is reported to have replied that he had no money but swords only.[36] Nadir left Kabul on 28 November and passing through Kurram reached Dera Ismail Khan on 25 December, 1739 burning and plundering villages on the way.[37] Amir Sadiq Muhammad Khan, the chief of the Daudpotras went there and submitted to Nadir Shah and offered to render all assistance against the Kalhora chief. Nawab Zakariya Khan, Governor of Lahore, had been instructed earlier (14 September 1739) to move to Multan and prevent the Sindhis from crossing the Indus into the Mughul territory. Nadir went by river to Dera Ghazi Khan.

Nur Muhammad Khan aware of the impending invasion went to Larkana to raise an army and left his son in Thatha. He later shifted to Umarkot where he was joined by his son Murad Yar Khan with his family and treasures. The *amils* were instructed to follow the scotched earth policy. Nadir reached Larkana on 1 February, 1740 and leaving heavy equipment there he proceeded to Shahdadpur and then by forced marches reached Umarkot on 15/16 February 1740.

Nur Mohammad submitted to Nadir after the latter had promised that no harm would come to the life and honour of his family. He was first taken to Larkana then to Thatha Nur Mohammad Khan surrendered treasure worth one crore and promised to pay an annual tribute of 10 lakhs. Mian Sahib received generous treatment befitting his status and was given the title of Shah Quli Beg but he was kept under strict suveillance.[39] Asked as to why he had resisted Nadir, Mian Sahib replied that he owed allegiance to the Mughuls and if he had helped the invader, Nadir would have lost faith in him as an ally. This reply pleased Nadir.

In addition to the plunder of the country and the economic drain, the worst harm that Sindh suffered was the deunification of Sindh under the chief of Sindh, for which the Kalhoras had laboured for 40 years. Sindh was divided into three parts ; Sibi and Kachcha was given to Mohabat Khan of Kalat, Shikarpur was given to Sadiq Muhammad Khan Daudpotra, and the rest was to be retained by Nur Muhammad Khan. Nur Muhammad Khan in accordance with the agreement with Nadir Shah, sent his sons Murad Yab Khan. Ghulam Shah and Attar Khan with the invader as hostages to Iran and entertained his unwelcome guest during the latter's stay in Larkana. The library of the Kalhoras was taken away by the conqueror to the great regret of Mian Sahib. Suitable Khilaat and honours were bestowed on other chiefs. He appointed Mohammad Karim as his vakil and his own governor at Thatha. He left Sindh via Siwi and Quetta on 5 May 1740 after appointing Suleman Aslam as Nazim of *Sicca* and Khutba in Sindh.

Mian Nur Mohammad had to re-establish his prestige, repair the damage done to agriculture and industry, put down lawlessness and restore peace and order in the harried land. The territories under him had been reduced in extent and the presence of Nadir's officers in Sindh added to his difficulties.[40] The heavy burden in the form of tribute imposed on Sindh had further impoverished the people particularly when some refractory *zamindars* openly defied the government and withheld the payment of revenue.

Nadir Shah had appointed one Shaikh Sadiq, a talented officer

formerly in the service of Amir Sadiq Mohammad Khan Daudpotra, as his *vakil* at Shikarpur. Shaikh Sadiq appears to have incurred the displeasure of some officers by his harshness and overzealousness. He was murdered along with his son but his younger son escaped and sent a report to Nadir Shah. The latter appointed Tahmasp Khan Jalair to investigate and punish the culprits towards the end of 1745. Shikarpur was captured by the Iranians and Mohammad Balawal Khan took refuge in Jaisalmir with the women of the Daudpotras. Nur Mohammad Khan who was living in retirement kept aloof from the disturbances caused by his rivals, sent his youngest son Attar Khan as a hostage and made up with the Iranians. Jalair after capturing Kalat, proceeded to Dera Ghazi Khan. The fort of Derawar was next besieged and captured by ruse. The Daudpotras next opposed the enemies at Sitaha where they successfully resisted the army after having killed their women in Rajput fashion. In the meantime Sadiq Mohammad Khan succeeded in securing forgiveness from Nadir Shah who gave him Ghazni and the adjoining territory in Jagir in exchange for Shikarpur. Mirza Askar Ali was deputed to go with Sadiq Muhammad Khan. Most of the latter's friends and his own son objected to his exchange but they were so powerless that to keep up appearances, it was given out that the Daudpotras will leave Shikarpur on 23 March 1745, but in the meantime efforts to mobilize an army were to continue. Askar Ali was informed of this. He invited Sadiq Muhammad Khan to a banquet along with his family in order to arrest them all and kill them later. Sadiq Muhammad got an inkling of this and did not go to the banquet. Askar Ali besieged the fort and after a fierce fight in which Sadiq Muhammad was killed along with many of his faithful followers, the remnant of the beseiged cut their way to safety.

The Daudpotras were now driven away from Sindh. Bahawal Khan had received *jagirs* near Multan. Bahawal Khan rendered meritorious services to Kaura Mal, the naib Nazim of Multan. Kaura Mal gave him in reward the territory of Adamwahan in 1750. This grant laid the foundation of Bahawalpur state.

Nur Mohammad Khan's conduct in his relation with the Daud-

potras was one of hostility though outwardly he tried to show concern for their welfare.

Nur Muhammad was in the meantime engaged in suppressing the rebellious *zamindars*. The first to be punished was Hoti, zamindar of Kakrala who was defeated and killed in 1744. Rana Dharaja who had attacked Thatha was defeated and driven away. Muhammad Khudadad Khan captured the fort of the Rana who was later on killed while negotiating terms of surrender. The fort of Kanji[41] was captured in 1746 and its ruler was captured and imprisoned.

Abdalis and Sindh

At the time of the accession of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1747, Mir Mohabbat Khan, the eldest son of Mir Abdullah Khan was the chief of the Brohis and *hakim* of Kalat having been appointed by Nadir Shah. Most of the Baluchi chiefs had espoused the cause of his younger brother Mir Nasir Khan and had applied to Ahmad Shah for support. The latter in 1749 turned towards Kalat. Nasir Khan was at that time with Nur Muhammad in Khudabad. Mir Mohabbat Khan sent emissaries to Ahmad Shah and the latter confirmed him on his governorship and returned to Qandhar. Mir Mohabbat Khan gave one of his sisters Bibi Gauhar to the Durrani chief in marriage. Later Mohabbat Khan was arrested and Nasir Khan appointed governor in his place. When the latter again showed refractoriness, he was besieged in Kalat but submitted and was forgiven.

After the third invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and Sindh were ceded by the Mughuls to the Afghans. Ahmad Shah confirmed Mian Nur Muhammad in his post and conferred on him the title of Shahnawaz Khan on his promising to pay the tribute regularly. Mian Sahib feeling secure in his place deferred payment of revenue on which Ahmad Shah called upon him to pay the tribute. Nur Muhammad sent an embassy to Qandhar with rich presents under the leadership of Bahi Khan Kalhora. Ahmad Shah Abdali confirmed him in his office. This saved Sindh from immediate danger from the Afghans. His three sons, Muhammad Murad Yab Khan, Ghulam Shah and Attar Khan managed to leave for Sindh after the death of Nadir Shah. Murad Yab Khan was the first to

leave for Teheran and Muscat. He was the last to reach Sindh. The other two sons arrived in Sindh. It was sometimes in 1750 that Ghulam Muhammad who was with Muradyab Khan and his brother Shukrullah who was sent to Mascut were killed, the first by an assassin's dagger (1749) and the second by poison (1750).[42]

Nur Mohammad Khan appointed Muradyab Khan as the heir-designate and gave him the wizarat, left him in Khudabad and himself shifted to Muhammadabad. As he proved unequal to the task he was divested of his administrative duties. Khudabad Khan who had been designated as successor during the absence of the three princes left Sindh in a huff and migrated to India. Nur Muhammad in order to equip his army with modern artillery purchased a number of guns of different calibre from Surat.[43]

The payment of revenue was again discontinued on which Ahmad Shah led an army in person to Sindh in November 1753.[44] Nur Mohammad received the news of the invasion of Sindh by Ahmad Shah Abdali and he sent his Diwan Guddu Mal with letters of submission and apology. Guddu Mal was coldly received but he was a clever diplomat and close student of human nature. He had learned of Ahmad Shah's love and regard for saints. When Guddu Mal presented the gifts that he had brought the Shah asked him what they were. Guddu Mal replied they were the best gifts Sindh could offer—sacred dust from the tombs of saints of Sindh. The Shah was so pleased that he took no further action against Mian Sahib.

Mian Nur Mohammad died of throat infection at Sarkhat Korahra on 9 December 1753.

Nur Mohammad Khan had for nearly fifty years been closely associated with Sindh politics during a very difficult period. By his political sagacity, administrative ability, military skill, and steadfast courage he had raised the power and the prestige of the Kalhoras. During his time agriculture and trade had flourished and peace and prosperity returned to Sindh. During his lifetime, he wrote a "Wasiyat Nama" a sort of political testament, based on ethical and religious precepts. It is a unique document and mirrors the moral and political principles accepted by the age. The Kalhora family was founded

by highly respected and universally revered saintly persons. That tradition had to be maintained and every effort was made to live up to the ideals as far as possible in a sordid, materialistic brutal age. He in this document enjoins his sons to always remember God, follow the *sunnat* of the Prophet, show respect to his descendants, to be mild and careful in awarding punishments, say regularly the prescribed prayers, fast during the mnoth of Ramazan, pay *zakat*, not to discriminate between the four schools of law or the various *silsilahs*, spend the later part of the night in prayer and associate with the *ulema* and saintly persons.

He further advised them not to mix too much with the common people nor to be inaccessible, to be humble, be simple in life, avoid extravagance and luxurious life, not to look down upon poor people, help the indigent orphans and those in distress, not to oppress the cultivators, to safeguard the interest of the *zamindars* and above all, live in peace and amity with each other and render due obedience to Muradyab Khan.[45]

Nur Muhammad Khan was a religious minded person, God-fearing and humane. He showed great respect to learned and pious persons, particularly the Sayyids. He would stand up to receive a Sayyid howsoever poor or indigent he might be.[46] He copied the Quran and recited it frequently and Chablani thus sums up his work as a ruler :

"On the whole the first two Kalhoras, Yar Muhammad and his son, Nur Muhammad,herein after referred to as the early Kalhoras, governed the country with sagacity and foresight. The two were great warriors but they were equally great in the pursuits of peace. Mian Nur Muhammad, particularly, was a great promoter of canal irrigation and his agrarian pursuits were as remarkable as his valour in the field, and it was during his regime that agricultural production attained its peak level."[47]

REFERENCES
CHAPTER IX

1. The Arghunr ruled in Sindh from 1521 to 1554.
2. The Tarkhans ruled from 1554 to 1591·
3. Bhakhar remained a sarkar of the **Subah** of Multan till nearly, 1720. Upper Sindh was known as Sara and Lower as Lar.
4. It was after its annexation by Akbar made a part of the **Sudah**.
5. He belonged to a family of Qazis of Rohri.
6. He was buried on the Malki hill.
7. The Lubb-i-Tarikh-i-Sindh by Khudadad Khan, p. 90, Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi 1959.
8. Sujan Rai, Khulasat-ut-Tuwarikh, op. cit., pp. 97-99.
9. A sweet water fish ãllied to the **hilsa** of the Ganges and the herring of the west (Imperial Gazetteer, VII, 14).
10. Hamilton, Alexander, NewAccount of the East Indus, Pinkertons Travels, Vol. VIII, pp. 204-309, First published in Edinburgh in 1721.
11. H.T. Sorley, Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit : His poetry, life and Times, Oxford University Press, Dacca, 1966, pp. 82.
12. Travels of Sebastian Manriqule, the Hakluyt Society, Vol. II, pp. 212-243.
13. Sorley considers the description as truer of Rohri than of Bhakhar, Sorley, op. cit.: Pãkistan Branch, 1966, note 1, p. 74.
14. Ibid., pp. 212-243.
15. Burton, History of Sindh.
16. Maasir-ul-Umara, I. 825, Tuhfatul Kiram, III, p. 102. Ruqaat-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis (MS), p. 36, Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Tarikh-i-Sindh (Urdu Vol. I, Sindhi Adabi Board, Ḥaiderabad 1958, pp. 47-60.
17. The Tarikh Abbasia could not be completed and an incomplete portion of it in prose and verse is stated to have been at one time in the British Museum.
18. Maasar-ul-Umara, I, 825, Tuhfatul Kiram, III, p. 102, Ruqaat-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis (MS), p. 36, Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Tarikh-i-Sindh (Urdu Vol. I.) pp. 47-60
19. The Panhoras occupied the territory between Rohri and Gohotki.
20. They were known as Sarais as they occupied the territory between Bhakhar and Multan called Sarah. Maassir-ul-Umara Vol. I, p. 528 (Persian).
21. See Maasir-ul-Umara Vol. I, p. 836.
22. Sorley, p. 29.
23. Sorley, p. 28. This refers to the miraculous club of the Kalhoras. After the conquest of the Panhwar tribe by Mir Mahmod Kalhora, a conquest

affected with such ease, that Yar Mahmoed Kalhora directed a number of clubs to be suspended in front of his tomb as a memorial to his having conquered the country with clubs alone. The clubs remain suspended to this day in front of his tomb in Khudabad. Report by Captain Preedy, Bombay Government Record, No. XVII, New Series, p. 671.

24. . The title of Khuda Yar Khan and coveted mahi Maratib were conferred on his during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. (M. U. Vol. I, p. 818 English Trans.) According to Imperial Gazetteer XXII, p. 398 the title was conferred by Alamgir.
25. They were later on returned to Yar Muhammad Khan.
26. Founded by the Daudpotras in 1616.
27. Tuhfatul Kiram, Vol. III, 170.
28. Ibid. p. 100.
29. Ibid, p. 309, see Maqalaat-ush-shura, p. 873, see Khudadad Khan, p. 106.
30. Tohfatul Kiram, III, p. 100.
31. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Tariph-i-Sind, Vol. I, pp. 271-300.
32. See Beales Miftah ul Futuh, p. 276 ; Mir Ghulam Ali Azad, Maasir-ul-Kiram, Part I, pp. 264-265, Kalmat-us-Shura p. 34 ; Nawab Siddiq Hassan Khan, Shama, p. 141.
33. Maqalat, pp. 96-97.
34. Three years according to Tuhfa-tul-Kiram.
35. Jandrer according to Masson and Khanpur according to Pollingar
36. On the authority of Nama-i-Naghz.
37. In one village only 2 men survived out of 1000.
38. 22 lakhs according to Anand Ram Mukhlis.
39. According to some accounts he was kept in corfinement and taken to Larkanu in chains ; see Journal of Sind Historical Society, Karachi, October 1934.
40. Haig, W., The Indus Dalta Country, p. 117.
41. Three Kos from Ali Bunder.
42. See an elegy by Mohammad Panah Maqalat ul Shura, p. 225, Sindhi Adābi Boārd, Karachi 1957.
43. Sind Historical Society Journal, January 1938, pp. 60-63.
44. Ahmad Shah Abdali after campaigning in India entered Sindh. He went to Rohri and from there he crossed to Sakhur and then set up his camp in Sehwan or according to other accounts in Naushehra.
45. See Fath Name of Munshi Azimuddin Thathawi, Sindi, Adabi Board.
46. Ibid.
47. S.P. Chablani, Economic Conditions in Sindu, 1592 to 1843, p. 18.

CHAPTER X

HAIDERABAD

by

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The Asafjahi kingdom of Haiderabad, established in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, was a succession state of the Mughul Empire which had begun to disintegrate after the death of Emperor Alamgir. Originally, it was the southern province of the Mughul Empire which comprised the whole of the Indian peninsula from the Vindhiachal Ranges upto Madura. Flanked by western and eastern ghats, it embraced the whole expanse of the Deccan Plateau, including the Andhra, Karnatak, and Tamilnad regions. Isolated as it was from the northern plains by the multiple barriers of mountains, forests and rivers, the Deccan formed a separate entity with distinctive physical and geographical features. The distance from the centre, the difficulties of communications together with rich natural resources of the south and flourishing commerce were sources of temptation for the governors of these provinces to make a bid for independence.

Nizamul Mulk Qamaruddin Khan, who founded the Haiderabad Kingdom was an outstanding personality of the eighteenth century. He was born in India in 1671. His mother was the daughter of Sa'dullah Khan of Chiniot. His father and grandfather, Shihabuddin and Khwaja Abid had migrated from Turkistan. They belonged to a distinguished family which traced its descent to the First Caliph of Islam through Shaikh Shihabuddin Suharawardi, the famous saint. They came to India during the reign of Shahjahan in 1656 and in 1668 respectively and were honoured by the Emperor with titles and *mansabs* in keeping with their high traditions of scholarship and piety.[1] Khwaja Abid died during the siege of Golcunda in 1686. Shihabuddin was appointed governor of the provinces of Berar and Gujarat. He was still in his teens when he was honoured with the

title of Chin Qulich Khan. In 1677, he was placed in charge of the Bijapur province as, Governor.[2] Shihabuddin was appointed by Bahadur Shah after his succession, as Governor of Awadh in 1708. During the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he was appointed to the governorship of the six provinces of the Deccan in 1713, with the title of Nizamul Mulk.[3] His mansab was increased from 5000 to 7000 zat and 7000 Sawars. When he arrived in Deccan "the might of his hereditary sword and his own sound judgment brought about, as they had done before, a great abatement of the ravages perpetrated by the Mahrattas upon the country and upon caravans, without his having to resort to war with the vile foe."[4]

His government had begun in "peace and ended with war which lasted for one year and five months."[5] Two years after he was superceded by Husain Ali Khan of Barah,[6] and appointed the governor of Muradabad to suppress the disorders there. Later on, he was recalled to Delhi by the Emperor, his jagir was taken from him and he received no appointment. Sayyid Abdullah promised him the subahdari of Malwa in order to console him and keep him away from Delhi. "It would be well to send Nizamul Mulk to be *Subadar* of Malwa, half-way between Delhi and the Deccan. Nizamul Mulk accepted the appointment, and received his robe of office and title of his new post on the third day after the accession of Rafiud-darajat. He took with him his wives and children, and there accompanied him more than a thousand followers companions mansabdars and jagirdars, who were poor and sick at heart with the unkindness shown by the Saiyids, and through their pay in arrears. Nizamul Mulk busied himself in collecting soldiers and artillery, which are necessary for ruling the country and keeping it in order. He gave 500 horses with accoutrements and arms to Muhammad Ghiyas Khan for his Mughul fraternity, and turned them into horsemen. He lent large sums of money to them and others, binding them to himself by the bonds of debt and kindness."[7]

Farrukh Siyar was assassinated in 1719. The Saiyid Brothers successively raised to the throne puppet kings, Rafiuddaula and Rafiuddarajat and then raised to the royal seat Roushan Akhtar Muhammad Shah in 1719.

The Nizam accepted the offer and left for Malwa with his family in 1720,[8] but was later recalled to Delhi.[9] He soon fell out with Husain Ali Khan who wanted Malwa for himself and offered to Nizamul Mulk the subas of Agra, Allahabad, Multan or Burhanpur. The Nizam ignored the summons. Two armies, one under Dilawar Ali Khan from the North and the other under Alam Ali Khan from the South were sent against him but these armies did not march in proper time and there was no coordination amongst them. The Nizam, who had captured Asirgarh in the meantime and later occupied Burhanpur, was able to defeat Dilawar Ali Khan in Khandesh and then rout the southern army led by Alam Ali Khan at Balapur (Berar).[10] The defeat of the two armies and the death of the two generals who were the nephews of Husain Ali Khan made the Sayyids send a strong army under the Emperor himself against the Nizam. But Husain Ali Khan was stabbed to death as a result of a secret plot hatched by the Turkman party in 1722 and his brother Abdullah who offered resistance, was captured and was killed in prison. Nizamul Mulk now summoned to Delhi, was appointed Wazir by Mohammad Shah on February 8, 1722 and received the usual robe of honour, a dagger, an ornamental pen case and a diamond ring of great value. He reached Delhi in 1722 and the office was conferred upon him on February 20, 1722.[11] But he was soon disgusted with the vicious atmosphere at the court of Delhi. In the words of Khafi Khan, "Nizamul Mulk was anxious to carry out the duties of his office, to maintain the prestige of the Emperor, and to accumulate funds, without which a state falls into disrepute. But he was unable to accomplish his wishes through the interference of adversaries, who maligned him to the Emperor, and obstructed his authority as the wazir. In particular, Koki Padshah, a woman of great charm and intelligence, colluded with Khwaja Khidmatgar Khan, who was said to be one of the Emperor's close companions, and under the show of providing means and raising funds, they acquired large sums under the name of peshkash for the Emperor and for themselves. This was a great difficulty in the wazir's way. Other associates of the Emperor made ridiculous insinuations against Nizamul Mulk, which the weak minded Emperor believed."[12]

One day Nizamul Mulk, with the best intentions, told the Emperor that the system of farming the Khalisa lands was very injurious to the country, and ought to be set aside; secondly, that the bribes which were received, under the name of Peshkash, were disgraceful to the Emperor and adverse to good policy; that the jizya upon infidels ought to be collected as in the days of Aurangzeb; fourthly, he recalled the fact that in the days of the rebellion against the Emperor Humayun, when the realm of Hindustan passed into the hands of Sher Shah Afghan, the Shah of Persia had rendered great help and service, and had shown hospitality to Humayun, when he went towards Persia. If the Emperor Mohammad Shah were now to help the ruler of Persia in repelling the domination of the Afghans, it would be recorded in history as a lasting honour to the House of Timur. The Emperor said, "Whom have I got to send on such a mission?" Nizmul Mulk replied, "Any one of your enterprising officers whom you might send on this service and who would carry out your orders; or if it should please you to name me for the duty, I would strive heart and soul to accomplish it," and he added some further professions of his loyalty and devotion.

When the Emperor consulted with other nobles of his court on this subject, a party of them perverted the good opinion which the Emperor entertained of Nizamul Mulk, and set him against his wise and excellent minister. The etiquette of the court and the discipline of the State had fallen much below the standards of royal protocol and Nizamul Mulk desired that orders should be issued to restore it to a suitable norm. This greatly irritated the courtiers and day by day they made statements about Nizamul Mulk which were entirely opposed to his wishes and by envious and malicious insinuations they poisoned the mind of the Emperor against his devoted servant. They sowed the seeds of such dangerous designs into the head of the inexperienced Emperor against Nizamul Mulk, that as a precautionary measure for saving his honour, he, at the end of Rabi'u-l awwal, got a few day's leave of absence for hunting, and left Delhi in the sixth year of the reign. Under the plea of needing a change of air, he proceeded thirty or forty kos from the capital to the bank of the Ganges. There he spent his time in hunting and recuperating his health."[13]

He left for the Deccan in great dudgeon in 1724. But before he could reach Aurangabad, he had to fight against his Deputy Governor, Mubariz Khan who was instigated by the Emperor to resist him on his way to the Deccan. A decisive battle was fought at Shakar-Khade (Berar) in 1724, in which Mubariz Khan was killed and the Nizam triumphantly entered Aurangabad and assumed the reins of government as an independent ruler of the Deccan. The battle which took place on 11 October, 1724,[14] is memorable in history as it heralded the birth of the Asafjahi kingdom of Haiderabad.

The independence of the Nizam in the Deccan had a great significance. It was in no sense an act of treason as is opined by some writers. If viewed in proper perspective, it was an act of loyalty because it ensured the security of the Deccan Province and the maintenance of the Mughul traditions at least in the southern part of India. If the Nizam had not taken this bold step and had wasted his time at Delhi, the Deccan would have been captured by the Marhattas sooner or later. His action was appreciated by the Emperor. The Nizam assured the Emperor of his loyal service whenever the need arose and as a matter of fact, he fulfilled the pledge of loyalty to the Emperor. Sovereign though he was in the Deccan, he did not fail to render loyal service to the Emperor on every critical occasion. Besides, he avoided the use of the insignia of royalty, namely, the epithet of "Shah", the throne, the umbrella and the issuing of the coinage stamped with his own superscription. The khutba continued to be read in the name of the Mughul emperor. He also instructed his successor, Nasir Jung to perpetuate the tradition of loyalty to the Emperor.[15] The Emperor recognized Nizam's rule in the Deccan and conferred on him the title of Asaf Jah, an honorific title, which together with that of Nizamul Mulk conferred by Farrukh Siyar continued in the Nizam's dynasty till the so-called police action against the state soon after the Partition of the country. The Emperor sent him also an elephant and Jewellary and "directed him to settle the country, repress the turbulent, punish the rebels and cherish the people."

The Nizam was now faced with new responsibilities, both domestic and foreign. In order to make the administration more efficient

and effective, he promulgated new rules and regulations, issued a Code of conduct for state servants with strict orders for their observance and enforcement. His new regulations, seventy in number covered a wide field like court protocol, dutifulness and efficiency of state officials, their relations with the public, departmental work and the relations between the centre and the provinces.[17] He also conferred ranks and titles on his trusted officers who had extended loyal cooperation in the battle of Shakar-Khade and thereafter, and made new appointments and replacements for the maintenance of law and order.

"In a short time, the country was brought under the control of Musulman authorities ; it was secured from the abominations of infidelity and tyranny. Under former subadars, the roads had been infested with the highway robbers, the Marahattas and the rebellious zamindars, so that traffic and travelling was disrupted ; but now the highways were safe and secure. The Marahattas exacted the chauth with all sorts of tyranny from the jagirdars ; and in addition to it, ten per cent. of the revenue from the zamindars and raiyat under the name of sardesh-mukhi. By these means odious kamaishdars were removed and changed every week and month ; orders were issued which was beyond all endurance of the raiyat and indignities and insults were heaped upon the collectors of the jagirdars. Nizamul Mulk so arranged that instead of the chauth of the suba of Haiderabad, a sum of money should be paid from his treasury ; and that the sardesh-mukhi, which was levied upon the raiyat at the rate of ten per cent.. should be abandoned. He thus got rid of the presence of the kamaish-dars of the chauth, and the gumashtas of the sardesh-mukhi and the rahdari, an impost which had been a source of great nuisance for the travellers and the traders."[18] But foreign affairs proved to be more vexacious than domestic problems. The Marahatta aggression against Haiderabad remained a constant source of anxiety for Nizamul Mulk and his successors. The future of Haiderabad depended on immunity from Marahatta aggression as the Nizam could expect little or no help from the centre or other Muslim chiefs in the north.

After the death of Sambhaji in 1689, the Marahattas were split

into two rival camps at Satara and Kolhapur, thereby losing the unity created and fostered by Shivaji.[19] Raja Ram had succeeded Sambhaji. He died in 1700 and his wife Tara Bai took up the leadership of the Marahattas. But the release of Sahu, the son of Sambhaji, in 1707 created a rift amongst the Marahattas. He was recognized as leader by the Satara faction but Kolhapur refused to recognise Sahu. The Satara Durbar was, however, strengthened by the Brahmin mini ters who were known as Peshwas. Sahu lacked the qualities of a leader but he was inspired by his Peshwas whose emergence on the political scene of the Deccan changed the entire course of history. They infused in the Marahatta race a new spirit by their capacity for organization and political acumen, with the result that the Marahattas showed now more vigour, ambition and vitality and soon emerged as a powerful group aspiring to found a Marahatta Empire in India. The Marahattas were futher encouraged in their ambitious designs by the short-sighted policy of the Mughul Governors of the Deccan. Zulfiqar Khan who was in charge of the Deccan province at the time of Alamgir's death advised Shah Alam Bahadur Shah to grant the Marahattas the right of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* for the maintenance of law and order in the Deccan. This grant was detrimental not only to the Mughul cause but also to the interests of Haiderabad state. The grant was confirmed by Husain Ali Khan Barah who governed the Deccan for one year in 1714.[20] The Marahattas roamed about in the Deccan, collected taxes forcefully and established themselves as the virtual rulers of the country. Sahu and his ambitious ministers set out to extend Marahatta influence and constitute themselves as successors to the Mughul Empire. Balaji, the first Peshwa died in 1720 and his ambitious policy was carried out by his son, Baji Rao. The latter was more energetic and more ambitious than his father and in pursuance of his policy he launched incessant raids not only into Haidarabad territories but also those of the Mughuls. He invaded Gujarat in 1737 and advanced as far as Shahjahanabad in 1738 to the extreme embarrassment of the Imperial Government. But his progress was checked by the rival power of Kolhapur and also by the rising power of Nizamul Mulk. The Kolhapur government was headed by Sambhaji II, the son of Raja Ram who had on occasions

offered his help to the Nizam and the latter inflicted crushing defeats on Baji Rao in Berar, Karnatic, Aurangabad and the northern provinces of Gujarat and Malwa, from 1726 to 1728.[21] Nizamul Mulk never lagged behind in rendering prompt and royal service to the Empire in its hour of need whenever he could do so without jeopardising his own interest. The Nizam was invited to Delhi in 1737 when Northern India was raided by Baji Rao and again in 1738 when India was invaded by Nadir Shah. The Nizam responded to the Emperor's call at once, though he was desperately engaged in an encounter with Baji Rao near Bhopal. He was forced to accept humiliating terms dictated by the Marahatta invader and hurriedly proceeded to Delhi and helped the Emperor in the crisis.[23] His arrival in Delhi in April 1738 was marked by public rejoicing. He was accorded a hearty reception at Delhi by the people and government officials alike. The following quatrain composed by the Delhi poet, Fazle Ali indicates the sentiments of the Indian people about him.

صد شکر کہ ذات دین پناہی آمد ۔ رونق دہ ملک بادشاہی آمد
تاریخ رسیدلش بگوشم ہاتف ۔ گفت آیت رحمت الٰہی آمد
1150 A.H.

> Thanks-givings for the Almighty that the bulwark of Faith has arrived. The embellisher of the royal kingdom has come. The crier from the unknown has whispered into my ear the date of his arrival. It is ayat-i-rahmat-i-Ilahi, viz. 1150 A.H.

He was acclaimed as a hero and a saviour of India.[24] But the Nizam failed to carry the government at Delhi with him in regard to measures to be adopted to face the new menace. After the defeat of the Mughul Army by Nadir Shah, Nizamul Mulk was deputed by the Emperor to negotiate with the victor and make an amicable settlement. Nadir was greatly impressed by the Nizam's personality and wisdom and expressed his surprise and regret at the deplorable condition of the Empire and its helplessness against the Marahattas despite the fact that men of Nizam's calibre were available in the country

The Nizam explained to him, the whole background as to how the imperial administration was being conducted by men unworthy of the duties of their offices. [4] Left to himself he might have succeeded in averting the tragedy of the general massacre at Delhi. Some historians have severely criticized his conduct during Nadir Shah's invasion and hold him responsible for the tragedy that followed.

He returned to the Deccan when he heard of the rebellious conduct of his son Nasir-ud-din whom he defeated and imprisoned.

The last eight years of Nizamul Mulk's life were spent in domestic reforms and the suppression of local insurrections. He paid earnest attention to the province of Karnatic which was in a state of disorder. He made a tour of the province and in 1743 appointed Anwaruddin Khan Shahamat Jung as the Governor of the Province.

Karnatak

Karnatak is the eastern part of the Deccan. The term is used by the Europeans to denote the Coromandal Coast and its hinterland. The region was not properly administered since it was annexed to the Mughul Empire after the fall of Golcunda in 1687. The Mughul viceroys who were entrusted with the government of the Deccan were also responsible for the administration of this region, but they neglected to supervise its administration which was left to their deputies.

Karnatak was further distracted by Marahatta raids and the civil wars that often raged among the various claimants who aspired for the Nawabship. Saadatullah Khan was the Nawab of Karnatak when the Asafjahi kingdom of the Deccan was established. He died in 1732 and was succeeded by his nephew Dost Ali Khan. The latter was killed in a battle with the Marahattas in 1740 and his son-in-law Husain Dost Khan, *alias* Chanda Saheb was taken prisoner by the Marahatta invaders and taken to Satara. Dost Ali's son Safdar Ali who had taken refuge at Vellore was murdered by his cousin Murtaza Ali, who claimed the Nawabship for himself. It was this political instability which attracted the attention of Nizamul Mulk who went to Karnatak in 1743 and appointed Anwaruddin Khan Shahamat

Jung to control its affairs. The region was futher disrupted by the English and the French who supported the cause of various rivals in their own interests. Chanda Sahib was supported by the French for the Nawabship of Karnatak after he was released from the Marahatta detention in 1784, whereas the English espoused the cause of Mohammad Ali, the son of Anwaruddin Khan, after the latter was killed in a battle in 1749.[25]

The Nizam died in 1784 at Burhanpur at the mature age of 77. His entire career is marked by a dynamic leadership. "He was the last surviver of the great age of Aurangzeb." He was the only statesman who could truly understand the politics of the time and handle the political affairs of India with full confidence and insight.[26] The foundation and consolidation of the vast kingdom of Haiderabad which extended from Vindhiachal to Madura was his great achievement. He promulgated a large number of regulations for the efficient administration of the State. Ghulam Husain Khan thus sums up the character of Asif Jah :

"Covetousness and ambition seemed to be the basis of his charcter ; but if we can pass over that, we shall find him endowed with a number of excellent qualities. He was a man of eminent merit, who filled a very exalted station that equalled him to the greatest Kings, with all the talents and all the sublime qualifications which his situation required. His palace was at all times open to the poor, the needy, and the aged, as well as to the learned and the deserving ; in one word, to all that had any suit to prefer. To all these, he ever paid a strict attention, being careful to relieve their wants. His character for distinguishing merit, and for rewarding it to its full extent, was so universally spread, that men of parts, and also people of all sorts, flocked to his court from all the neighbouring countries from Arabia, and from Mawra al - Nahr, from Khurasan, from Iraq, and from Rum, and all were sure to advance their fortunes in his service.

Fond of public works, he finished the walls of the city of Boorhanpoor, which he had commenced in the year 1141, and he re-peopled the city of Feridapoor which he found ruined, and to which he gave the name of Nizamabad, building in it Mosques and Caravan-

seras, as well as a Palace and a bridge. He likewise raised walls round the city of Haiderabad, and built a superb Mosque at Aurangabad. The canal that runs through the middle of that city, is a public work of his. Afford repose, O Lord of mercy and forgiveness, to such servants of Yours. He was a man of great equality of temper, and a learned one, fond of uttering extempore verses ; and there is a Poem and a volume of Poetry of his, actually extant. He departed his life thirty seven days after Muhammad Shah's demise, and it was the fourth of the second Djemady, in the year 1161 of the Hijrah. Mir Ghulamaaly, the Poet of Belgram, has comprehended in six words the chronogram of those three illustrious men deceased at the same time. It is in an enigmatic style.

گشت تاریخ چون کشیدم آه　　　موت شاه و وزیر آصف جاه

When I sobbed and took a deep sigh saying oh; the date
of his demise came to me in an inspired moment.
It is Maut-i-Shah-o Wazir-i asaf Jah (the death of
the Emperor and asaf Jah, the Wazir).

But he has spoken in a more open manner in the following verses :

سه رکن مملکت ہند از جہان رفتند ۔ فتاد حیف سه در یگانه از کف دهر
برائے رحلت این ہر سه یا فتم تاریخ ۔ نماند شاه زمان با وزیر و آصف دهر
1161 A. H.

"Fallen are, ah ! the three columns of this Empire :

"Disappeared are they from this world, as three precious pearls from the hand of time.

"I have comprehended those three invaluable losses in this single verse :

"Gone is the King, the Vezir, and the Asaf of the age".[27]

SECTION II

Successors of Nizamul Mulk

Nizam-ul-Mulk was succeeded by his second son, Meer Ahmed Khan Nasir Jung who had been nominated by his father in the presence of his elder brother, Firuz Jung II. The latter had been left at Delhi in the service of the Imperial Government as a minister when Asif Jah had to go to the Deccan. Nasir Jung was eminently fitted to follow the traditions of the family, but, unfortunately, he fell a victim to the sinister designs of the French leader, Dupleix, who had by that time, extended French influence over the Coromandal Coast. It was not long after Nasir Jung's accession that he was called upon to face troubles created by the two Deccan renegades Muzaffar Jung and Husain Dost Khan alias Chanda Sahib. The former was the grandson of the last Nizam by his daughter, Khairun-nisa, who had laid a false claim to the Deccan throne on the pretext that he had been nominated by his grandfather to succeed him. The latter was the son-in-law of Dost Ali Khan, the ex-governor of Karnatak and aspired for the governance of the region for himself. The tripartite alliance constituted a serious threat to Asafjahi King-dom. The Deccan Government was forced to take strong action. Anwaruddin Khan Shahamat Jung who governed the Karnatak Province was the first to take the field. But he was out-numbered by the strong army of Muzaffar Jung and was killed in a battle in 1749 at Ambur. Mohammad Ali, Anwaruddin's son fled to Trichina-palli and sought the protection of the English. It created an alarming situation and Nasir Jung who had made up his mind to proceed to Delhi, turned towards Karnatak and advanced with an over-whelming army swelled by the feudatories of Kadappa, Karnul, Adhoni, Bankapur, Mysore and Berar. The rebels were routed at Arcot. Chanda Sahib fled to Pondichery and Muzaffar Jung who was left alone, was taken prisoner. The resistance put up by Dupleix at Pondichery also cracked and the French leader had no alternative but to seek peace on the conditions that :

1. Arcot should be leased to the French on the same terms as had been granted to them by the late Anwaruddin Khan.

2. The port of Pondichery was to be left to the French.

3. The behaviour of Chanda Sahib was to be condoned.[28]

The request was turned down by Nasir Jung and Dupleix unable to stand the onslaught, fled to Ginjee with his broken army. Nasir Jung was shot in 1750, by Himmat Khan, the Nawab of Karnul when the latter was riding on his elephant to storm the fort and waving his hands to the soldiers around him ordering them to march on.[29] Dupleix had planned the whole thing. The death of Nasir Jung was the triumph of Dupleix and his proteges. It was a great calamity for Haiderabad. It was Dupleix now who was to decide the future of the Deccan people. The country was divided amongst the conspirators. Muzaffar Jung was declared the Nizam of Haiderabad. As regards the other territories adjoining the Deccan plateau, Dupleix had the lion's share. He captured all the important ports of the Coromandal coast, Chanda Sahib got Arcot, Trichinapalli, Madura, Trinavelli, Ginjee and Chindawar and the Afghans were given Adhoni, Raichur and Bijapur. The next step was the appointment of Ram Das Diwan. A French contingent was to escort Muzaffar Jung to Aurangabad. But the dissatisfaction on the part of the Afghans of Karnul in regard to their share led to another skirmish. The award fell short of their expectations and consequently a new turmoil erupted at Karnul. When the procession of Muzaffar Jung reached the vicinity of Karnul, the Afghans adopted a hostile attitude and raided the French and the Asafjahi camps. Bussey resorted to retaliatory measures to chastise the Afghan marauders. In the skirmish, Muzaffar Jung was killed by an arrow.[30] This was the second tragedy that had occured within two months and upset, once again, the political situation which was nearing some stability. The issue of succession came up again. Raja Ram Dass and other Haiderabad nobles were in favour of Nizam Ali Khan, the fourth son of Nizam-ul-Mulk as he was more competent than his other brothers, but they were prevailed upon by Bussey to support Salabat Jung, the third son as the Nizam of Haiderabad by virtue of his seniority.[31] But, save his seniority in age, there was nothing else in his favour and consequently, the young state was left in the hands of an imbecile monarch who was devoid of any capacity to rule. The weakness of

Salabat Jung lay in his feeling of inferiority coupled with the conviction that he owed the throne to Bussey's favour. The submissive attitude of the ruler served as a great impetus to the French General to assume domineering position in the state. He not only interfered in the state affairs, exercising equal authority with the Nizam,[32] but he also manipulated the taking over of the Northern Sarkars. Allegedly, these territories were meant for the maintenance of the French Army. Dupleix was honoured with the high sounding titles of Saifuddoula, Umdat ul-Mulk Ghazanfar Jung.[33] It was but natural for the English Company to watch these events with great anxiety and fear. They appealed to the Imperial Government at Delhi to take prompt action and curb the French influence at the court of Haiderabad. But the attempt made by the Imperial Government in this regard met with miserable failure. Firuz Jung II who was deputed by the Emperor to replace Salabat Jung and do away with the French influence, was poisoned at Aurangabad to the extreme disappointment of all parties concerned. Firuz Jung was the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk and his arrival with the Imperial sanction had given great hopes not only to the English Company but also to the Deccan nobility. But Firoz Jung's sudden death in 1751[34] drove them to despair and the situation remained as gloomy as it was before. Nizam Ali Khan and Basalat Jung were in a sort of political detention, with no right to move about and exert their authority. The other dignitaries who had opposed the French influence were either ousted from the field of action or murdered. Lashkar Khan and Samsamuddoula Shah Nawaz Khan who successively served the state as Prime Minister, received disgraceful treatment : Lashkar Khan was removed from the office and Shah Nawaz Khan was murdered in 1755, by the French soldiers. However, it was through the efforts of the ministers that the princes were freed from political detention and were favoured with honours and appointments that they deserved. Finally, Nizam Ali Khan was made the Prime Minister and declared heir-apparent in 1757. Despite this, he was not allowed to exercise his full authority. The state failed to put up adequate defence against the Marahattas who, taking advantage of the situation invaded the state from all directions. The battle of Udgir

fought in 1760 proved disastrous, as a result of which the state lost strategic territories like Asirgarh, Burhanpur, Daulatabad and a part of Bidar which the Marahattas had coveted for a long time.[36] The loss was widely lamented by the people of Haiderabad. Many elegies were composed by poets to express their grief.[37]

Salabat Jung reigned for 12 years. He was deposed and succeeded by Nizam Ali Khan. The accession of Nizam Ali Khan brought a fresh vigour to the Haiderabad Government. Unlike his brother, he was an energetic and conscientious ruler. The first step to assert his authority was the ouster of Haider Jung Diwan, who was the main source of Bussey's authority. At the instance of Nizam Ali Khan, he was murdered in 1758.[38] Although he was replaced by his brother, Zulfiqar Jung, the French did not get the same support from the new Diwan as they had received from the former one. Bussey himself was called to Pondichery by the French Governor. His exit from Aurangabad sounded the death knell of the French influence for ever, and paved the way for the stabilization of Haiderabad Government. The Nizam was inconsistent in his resolution and lacked the power of decision. Though alive to the problems of the state, he failed to resist external pressure. He had considerable administrative experience, but he often yielded to the advice of his ministers. However, he adopted prompt measures to remove administrative discrepancies and stabilize the government with the help of ministers Musa Khan Ruknuddoula and Arastujah figure prominently in this period as able, efficient and versatile ministers. He established a new Paigah state to maintain an efficient army and controlled the state currency to prevent counterfeit coinage. Haiderabad was, during his time, surrounded by many hostile powers. The kingdom Nizam Ali Khan had inherited, was not as impregnable as that of his father. It was reduced to the limited area of the Deccan Plateau lying between Balaghat and Tungabhadra after it was stripped of its rich territories which his brother had lost. The state had lost Ahmadnagar and Bijapur on the West, Khandesh on the North and Northern Sarkars in the east and as an unfortunate result, the kingdom was surrounded by unfriendly neighbours who

had seized its territories all around. Salabat Jung had not the wisdom to realise the danger.

The Marahattas were the sworn enemies of Haiderabad who availed of every opportunity to harass the state. Balaji, the third Peshwa died of the shock of Panipat in 1761 and was succeeded by his minor son, Madho Rao. But the latter could not reconcile himself with his uncle, Raghunath Rao, alias Raghuba, who controlled the administration as a regent. This factional fight offered an opportunity to Nizam Ali Khan to avenge himself and regain the territories that had been seized by the Marahattas during the previous regime. He lent his support to Raghuba and effected the restitution of Daulatabad and other territories which yielded a handsome revenue of over 50 lakhs.[39] But soon after, Raghuba changed his mind and adopted a hostile attitude against Haiderabad Government. Nizam Ali Khan led an army against him and advanced as far as Poona to crush the Marahattas. He sacked the city of Poona and recovered territories yielding 19 lakhs.[40]

Haiderabad now sought to secure better relations with the English Company. The struggle for ascendancy between the English and the French reached a crucial stage in the second half of the eighteenth century. The French lost their power in Europe. The exit of Dupleix and Bussey from the scene of action led to the downfall of the French and the rise of the English. Dupleix who was the great architect of the French power in India was recalled to Paris in 1754 and Bussey in 1758. Their departure sealed the fate of the French in India for ever. Now the English Company which was strengthened by its victories at Arcot and in Bengal was further encouraged by the grant of the Diwani of Bengal to them by the Emperor, Shah Alam II in 1765. The grant of Diwani gave the British the northern Sarkars and thus an upper hand in Karnatak. Nizam Ali Khan refused to accept the Firman and when the English General entered the Sarkars and occupied the district, the Nizam decided to repel the encroachment. The Company was not prepared to fight but arrived at an amicable settlement in offering nine lakhs rupees for the five districts and the promise of military assistance to

the Nizam in case of emergency with the battalion for the defence of these districts. The terms were accepted by the Nizam and the Treaty was signed on 12 November 1766. The cession of Karnatak was also accepted on the payment of five lakhs of rupees as *Nazrana.*

This was the first Treaty which placed the Haiderabad relations with the English Company on legal footing, whereas the earlier agreement concluded by Salabat Jung ia 1758 was to meet a particular situation with no legal basis. Besides the loss of prestige and territories that Haiderabad had suffered, the Treaty also involved Haiderabad in hostilities against Mysore which had recently risen to power under Haider Ali. Yet the policy pursued by Haiderabad Government in relation to Mysore was not based on any principles. It rested more on personal whims and fancies rather than on realities of the situation and consequently it underwent frequeat changes. Ruknuddoula, the Prime Minister, was the person who shaped the policy according to his vacillating temperament without giving a second thought to the consequences of his actions. He was fickle minded and timid and absolutely devoid of statecraft. The Company was hard pressed by the hostile preparations of Haider Ali. The English were therefore in desperate need of the help from Haiderabad. Colonel Joseph Smith was deputed to beseech the Nizam for an alliance with the English. On 27th January, 1767, he was granted audience through Ruknuddoula and the Nizam expressed his readiness to reinforce the English Army for the invasion of Bangalore. According to a Haiderabad historian, the Nizam gave his assent to the English petition owing to the repeated entreaties of Ruknuddoula [41]. But a religious head of Mysore, Mohiyyidin Sahib bin Karem Sahib who was deputed by Haider Ali prevailed upon Ruknuddoula to annul the unholy alliance and unite with Mysore to oust the common enemy. When the matter was brought to the Nizam's notice, he sharply rebuked the minister for his shifty nature and criticized him in such harsh words that the minister was carried away by his momentary impulses. The Nizam, however, yielded to his persistent entreaties and thus a fresh alliance was concluded between Haiderabad and Mysore. The alliance was short lived. Repeated setbacks in

the campaign against the English broke the alliance and a fresh alliance was made with the English Company. Ruknuddoula went over to Madras on 9th February, 1768 and a Treaty was signed by him on 12th February, 1768, the major terms of which were :

1. Cession of the Northern Sarkars to the Company :
2. Recognition of Mohammad Ali as the sovereign ruler of Karnatak :

and

3. Cooperation of Haiderabad with the English against Haider Ali.[42]

Fresh atrempts were made in 1790 to bring Haiderabad closer to Mysore and envoys like Hafiz Farreduddin from Haiderabad and Mohammad Ghiyas, Qutbuddin Khan and Ali Raza Khan from Mysore were exchanged, but their negotiations bore no fruits,[43] whereas the English envoys, Johnson and Captain John Hannay succeeded in their mission.

Johnson was the first envoy who came to Haiderabad in 1748 to demand the cession of Guntur, one of the Northern Sarkars, which according to the Treaty of 1766-68, was to be handed over to the Company after the death of Basalat Jung, the younger brother of Nizam Ali Khan who had held the district as his Jagir assignment. The Nizam refused to hand over the district on the ground that the Company had direct dealings with the prince in the matter, without any reference to the Central Government and the illegal step on the part of the Company could not create any right for the Company and the treaty in question was thus void, But the representation of John Hannay had its desired effect and the district in question was handed over to the Company[44]. But the demand of Haiderabad for the payment of tribute due to the state pertaining to the Sarkars was referred to the Governor-General for final settlement and it remained undecided. The arrears of the tribute amounted to Rs. 67,49,333 out of which Rs. 9,16,665 were paid and the balance of Rs. 58,32,668 was withheld for the intervening period as the district had remained in the possession of Haiderabad Government from the death of Basalat Jung upto 1789.[45] The Prince had died in 1782.

The embassies of John Hannay and Meer Alam brought Haiderabad closer to the English Company and paved the way for a political alliance and accordingly a treaty was concluded in 1788 between the two parties including the Marahatta state for an offensive against Mysore with the stipulation that the territories and the booty that might accrue would be equally divided among the victors. The Treaty was further confirmed by another treaty signed in 1790. The Third Mysore War, continued for two years and ended in a crushing defeat of Mysore and resulted in the surrender of half of the State territory. The territories which fell to the state of Haiderabad were Kudappa, Tarpaly, Tarmari and Ballari.[46] However, the alliance with the English offered no guarantee for peace or security of Haiderabad against the Marahatta menace.

The same year when the Mysore War was in progress, the Marahattas demanded payment of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* which was in arrears for ten years. Two Marahatta agents Govind Rao Kalay and Govind Pinglay who came to Haiderabad demanded the payment of the dues. The Nizam drew a long list of dues which the Marahatta state owed to Haiderabad but the Marahatta rulers were in no mood to accept the same and pressed their own demands. Arastujah flatly rejected the demands and treated the envoys harshly which amounted to an ultimatum. A large army moved from Poona and advanced towards Haiderabad. Nizam Ali Khan moved forward to meet the enemy. The Haiderabad force was reinforced by the French battalions under M. Raymond whereas the officiating Governor-General, Sir John Shore refused to extend any help to the Faithful Ally though the Company was obliged to come forward with its help by virtue of the terms of the Treaty of 1768. The two armies met at Kharla, fifty six miles to the South of Adhmadnagar and a grim battle took place. In the earlier stages, the battle was in favour of Haiderabad but the later encounter proved disastrous. The Haiderabad army was forced to retreat with heavy losses and ultimately accepted a treaty with humiliating terms.[47] Besides the payment of Rs. 3 crores in cash as indemnity, Haiderabad had to surrender all the territories which lay to the south to Tapti, including the fort of Daulatabad and the territory adjacent to Bhonsla state.

Arastujah, the prime minister was sent to the Marahatta camp as a hostage. The treaty was signed on 2 April, 1795.[41]

From 1795 to 1797, Arastujah remained at Poona as a detenue. He was lodged in a garden from where he studied and watched the Marahatta affairs. There he used his ingenuity and skill to take advantage of the rivalry between the Marahatta leaders, Nana Farnavis and Daulat Rao Sindhia. The Marahatta leaders, on the other hand, did not hesitate to meet him and seek his advice regarding their future plans for Arastujah was a shrewd politician and an influential man. Daulat Rao Sindhia who had succeeded his uncle in 1794 struggled hard for an upper hand over Nana Farnavis. Daulat Rao was the first man to see Arastujah in his garden. This interview gave rise to doubts and fears in the mind of Nana Farnavis. The latter also met Arastujah and enquired about the talk he had with Daulat Rao. The minister apprised him of the intrigue which was calculated to oust him from power and advised him to be cautious. He advised him to go away from Poona and promised his help provided he was freed from detention. He secured his release and raised an army with his own means and also sent for an army from Haiderabad which proceeded to Poona. In the meantime, Arastujah played a significant role at Poona : he brought about a reconciliation between Daulat Rao and Nana Farnavis and made them agree to instal on the Gadhi in 1796, the son of Raghuba, namely Baji Rao II. Nana Farnavis was made the Chief Minister. This obligation felt by Nana Farnavis towards Arastujah proved of great advantage to Haiderabad. The minister then regained almost all the territories that had gone to the Marahattas after the defeat of Haiderabad at Kharla. It was a remarkable achievement of Arastujah and he returned to Haiderabad in 1797 to the great rejoicing of Nizam Ali Khan and his subjects.[49]

The Battle of Kharla made the Nizam realize that he could not rely on the English Company and therefore he issued orders for the expulsion of English troops and to increase the strength of the French under M. Raymond to 15,000. The English were alarmed by the order. They approached the pro-English elements in the

state, especially Meer Alam who was responsible for the growth of English influence in the State, for the annulment of the order. Meer Alam submitted repeated petitions to the Nizam to annul the order. When he came back to Haiderabad, Arastujah also endorsed the view. At that time, the Nizam was incapacitated by an attack of paralysis and could not attend to serious business of the state. The formulation of the foreign policy was therefore left to the discretion of the ministers. The death of Raymond in 1798 who wielded great influence in the State, coupled with the revolt of Alijah, the eldest son of Nizam Ali Khan, created a favourable atmosphere for the English. The result was that the subsidiary alliance was concluded through the Resident, James Achiles Kirk Patrick, entitled Hashmat Jung Motamud Mulk Iftekharuddoula on the Ist September 1798 according to which the Subsidiary Force was raised to six battalions and permanently stationed at Haiderabad and the French Force was disbanded and expelled from the state. The subsidiary force which cost the state more than 24 lakhs was allegedly meant to protect the royal family and the state from foreign aggression. Arastujah expressed his desire to add two more points to the treaty, namly, the confirmation of Sikander Jah's accession and the settlement of the disputes which existed between Haiderabad and the Marahattas. These points were accepted by the Governor-General in his letter to the Resident of Haiderabad.[50] The Subsidiary Alliance was a prelude to the involvement of Haiderabad in the impending Mysore War. The fact of Haiderabad's collaboration with the English against Mysore was not expressly mentioned in the Treaty but came up in secret negotiations with the Nizam and his ministers. The Sultan of Mysore, despite his efforts to secure the help of Indian and foreign powers, failed to get any active response.

The rejection of Wellesley's demand that the French officers be expelled and an English Resident be posted in the Mysore State, became the justification for the invasion of Mysore. The Haiderabad army started from Haiderabad in February 1799 and joined the English army under Arthur Wellesley. Another English army advanced from Madras under General Harris. The resistance put up by Mysore was feeble mainly due to the dishonest and treacherous behaviour of Mysore Officers. The Sultan was killed while defending the palace. His kingdom was

divided among the three parties, namely, the English Company, the Nizam and the old Raja of Mysore. Haiderabad's share was far below expectations, and therefore, Arastujah, Meer Alam and Mustaqueemuddoula raised a strong protest against the inequitable distribution. The harsh tone of the protest was criticized by the Governor-General and Meer Alam was dismissed from the Office of Vakalat by way of punishment.[51]

After the fall of Tipu Sultan a new Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance was concluded with the English on 12 October 1800 for mutual protection and cooperation. Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 15 and 16 are important. According to these articles, the Subsidiary Force was increased from 6 to 8 battalions and was permanently stationed in the state. The contingent was to be maintained by the revenues of the districts assigned to Haiderabad in 1792 and 1799. Adhoni was also ceded to the Company for boundary adjustments. In return, the English Company undertook to protect and help Haiderabad against any aggression. The Nizam on his part undertook not to negotiate with any foreign power without the medium of the English Company. In other words, the State renounced its external powers altogether[52]. Thus the State ceased to exist as full independent political entity.

Nizam Ali Khan died in 1803 after a long reign of 40 years. The reign is an eventful period in the history of the Deccan. It stands to his credit that he preserved the territorial integrity of the kingdom which he had inherited from his predecessor and raised its cultural level during his lifetime. But the reign is badly tarnished by the defective policy adopted in relation to foreign powers. It is surprising to note that the Nizam or his ministers never applied their mind to assess the consequences of the policy they pursued in relation to Mysore and the English Company. They blindly threw themselves into the arms of the foreign power at the cost of their own state and India as a whole. The future events proved that the acceptance of the Subsidiary Alliance was more a liability than an asset. Nizam Ali Khan and his ministers left behind a vassal state. This lowered the prestige of Haiderabad kingdom and affected the cultural activities of the State.

The 2 Asafjahi rulers of Haiderabad were generous patrons of art and culture. Their contribution to art and learning is far greater than what was achieved by any ruling dynasty in any part of India. They devoted themselves to the diffusion of knowledge in the state and in raising the standard of life of their subjects. The progress of art and culture had been arrested in the Deccan after the fall of Bijapur and Golcunda in the last decade of the seventeenth century. The Nizam revived cultural activities in the Deccan. Nizamul Mulk who had a flair for cultural activities had inherited noble traditions from his learned ancestors. He was a highly educated man, a good writer and a poet. A large number of scholars flocked to his court and Aurangabad, where he held his royal court, pulsated with new life. As a poet, he has himself left a compendium of fine lyrics. He also spared his valuable time to contact students of various schools and encouraged them by financial help. He put questions and rewarded the students with stipends.[53] His magnificence went a long way in accelerating the pace of intellectual progress of the county. Historical works of a high standard were compiled under his patronage. Maasir-i-Nizami, Durbar-e-Asaf by Lala Mansa Ram, Swaneh-e-Deccan by Munim Khan Aurangabadi, Tarikh-e-Fathia by Yusuf Mohamed Khan were some of the books of his time. The Urdu language also received a new impetus during the period. The language adopted a new complexion under the literary influence which flowed from the North and the new trend is evident in the writings of the scholars who flourished during the period. Vali, Siraj, Ashiq Ali Bima, Mirza Jan Rasa, Mirza Ali Naqi Ejaz were the poets of the time whose vehicle of expression was Northern Urdu than the Deccani. Nasir Jung was also a great poet and his fine poetry is often compared with the compositions of the early Persian poets of repute. Nizam Ali Khan has no literary work to his credit but he never failed to extend his patronage to the scholars of the age. Ghulam Azad Bilgrami and his pupil, Lachmi Narayan Shafeeque were the prolific writers of the time. Their works of history and biography raised the intellectual level of the Deccan people. The three volumes of Maasirul Umera, a compendium of national biographies, by Samsamuddoula Shah Nawaz Khan is the magnum opus of the Asafjahi period. It is a colossal work and a great achievement of the time. This work alone is sufficient to show the literary

zeal and the intellectual activities of the early Asafjahi period. Nizam Ali Khan is also credited with the work of improvement and decoration of the old city of Haiderabad. He shifted his capital from Aurangabad to Haiderabad in 1770. Nizam Ali Khan did much to populate the city and applied various means to make it a cultural centre, worthy of the time. He not only brought his retinue and troops with a view to increasing the population but he also made his sons reside in various parts of the city. He built his new palace in the heart of the city and his other sons were settled in different parts. This step helped very much in restoring the traditional glory of the city. The reign is also noted for the creative works of art like painting, music and calligraphy. Nizam Ali Khan was fond of these arts and many artists of repute flocked to his court from far and near.

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CHAPTER X

THE AFGHANS IN NORTHERN INDIA

In the time of Emperor Akbar the Afghans as political rivals of the Mughuls had been completely eliminated and scattered. A fairly large number of Afghans were, however, recruited in the army of the Mughuls and some of them distinguished themselves in the military history of the period. They settled in small compact colonies as landholders or captains of mercenaries in Orissa, Sylhet, Darbhanga and Allahabad. As new immigrants came in they settled in Shahjahanabad and Katshar which area came to be known as Rohilkhand but their settlements lacked cohesion as they posed "no centre of political cohesion, no nucleas for a racial rally."

During the first half of the eighteenth century when the central authority of the Mughuls weakened, several soldiers of fortune proceeded to establish independent states throughout the subcontinent and the Afghans were not slow to take advantage of the political chaos, and succeeded in establishing independent or semi-independent principalities in the former Mughul provinces. Of these Afghan military adventurers the most famous were Muhammad Khan Bangash, Ali Muhammad Khan Rohila, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Najib-ud-Daula, the latter being for ten years virtually a dictator at Delhi.

> "The Bangash house, which founded Farrukhabad and acquired a considerable territory in the middle Duab, arose at the same time and in the same way as its more famous rivals; and although in the end it fell upon evil days, there was a time when its prospects of future greatness were little, if at all, inferior to those of its competitors. At the death of Muhammad Khan in 1743, no one would have foretold that his successors would so soon be distanced in the race for power. The rashness of one successor and the weak unambitious nature of another, aided by the exposed position of their country, placed in the highway of all hostile forces from east or west or south, soon reduced Farrukhabad to comparative insignificance."

SECTION 1

The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad 1713—1765

Nawab Muhammad Khan Bangash Ghazanfar Jang

The word Bangash applies to the hilly country and the mountain at the foot of which is situated Kohat. The valley of the Bangash in Eastern Afghanistan is encircled by hills (modern Kohat, Kurram and Paiwar). During the time of the Mughuls we hear of Lower Bangash and Upper Bangash to which separate *faujdars* were appointed at different times. This region is inhabited by the Afridi, Khatak, Orakzai, Bangash, Yusufzai, Mahsud and Tur tribes "who never fall under the effective sway of any recorded imperial authority." According to Ibbetson the Bangash were of Arab origin, being a Qureshi tribe tracing its descent from Khalid bin Walid. They all trace their descent from a common ancestor Karlanri (Karranis of Niamatullah). This region provided a route into India and a side entrance to Peshawar. These tribes later established colonies in India. The Bangash territory was nominally a part of Kabul Sarkar. The Karlanri and Sarwani, the two tribes of Kaghzai Afghans settled in Mau Rashidabad (now named Qaimganj). During the reign of Alamgir, Malik Ain Khan Karlanri of the Marya Khail, came to Hindustan and took service with Ain Khan Sarwani. Muhammad Khan Bangash was born there about 1665.

Muhammad Khan's early Years (1713—1743)

Malik Ain Khan left two sons, Himmat Khan and Muhammad Khan. The latter was eleven years of age when his father died. At the age of twenty he joined the service of his maternal uncle, Yasin Khan Bangash Ustarzai. He started life as a mercenary in the employ of a Hindu chieftain of Katehr. After Yasin's death Shadi Khan Bangash was elected leader of the Afghans. Muhammad Khan could not pull on with the new leader and with his followers served as a free lance in Bundelkhand for many years where he gathered a large following and amassed considerable booty.

During the later half of the seventeenth century Bundelkhand was in a state of turmoil. The fratricidal war between the two brothers, Prithvi Singh and Ram Chand after the death of Raja of Datya gave Muhammad Khan an opportunity to benefit by the civil war. He

joined Prithvi Singh who was killed in battle and Ram Chand richly rewarded Muhammad Khan for his services. Muhammad Khan soon won a reputation for courage and resourcefulness and his friendship was now sought by the local chiefs.

In 1712, Muhammad Khan had been leading a predatory life and operating near Gohud. According to Maasir-ul-Umara in the beginning he was a Jamadar. The Sayyid Brothers hearing of his dash, courage and resourcefulness summoned him to join Farrukhsiyar. He responded to the call after consulting his secretary, Sahib Rai. He reached Khajwah with 12,000 men against Jahandar Shah. He was presented before Farrukhsiyar on 9 February, 1713. On his accession Farrukhsiyar in recognition of Muhammad Khan's services invested him with a dress of honour and bestowed on him numerous other valuable presents. He was raised to the rank of a commander of 4000. "He was invested with a dress of honour and received an elephant, a horse, a palki, a shield, a sword with jewelled hilt, a jewelled aigrette, a turban ornament (*jigha*), a fish ensign, kettle-drums and standards, besides assignments of revenue". From then onward he was styled as Nawwab and was assigned eight *parganas*, all in Bundhelkhand and given important assignments.

In the first year of Farrukhsiyar's reign. Muhammad Khan was sent against the Raja of Anupshahr and Raja Meda (Mebdu). After successful conclusion of his mission he obtained further honours and rewards and was permitted to return to his home. It was after this that he laid the foundation of a new town, Muhammadabad, fourteen miles south east and another which he named Farrukhabad after the name of Farrukhsiyar.

Irvine who visited Farrukhabad in the late' 19th Century thus rapturously describes the ruins of Farrukhabad:

> "As we turn with our face to the north, our gaze first falls on the ruins of the once magnificent pleasure-house of the Nawab in the Paen Bagh; further on, the eye rests delighted on the slender minarets of the Karbala; beyond stretches all that remains of the Nawab's hunting ground or Ramna, still dotted here and there with trees; and closing in the horizon is the faint silver streak of the Ganges. Turning

half round to the right we see the city, looking like a vast wood of deep shaded *Nim* trees, from which there peeps here and there a corner of the double storied mansion of some Sahibzada or wealthy banker. Turning back again and looking westwards, we find before us the doomed tombs of the former rulers, of Ahmad Khan in the Bihisht Bagh within the walls, of Muhammad Khan and Kaim Khan further on beyond the Mau gate."

He also founded Qaimganj a little south west of Mau in memory of his eldest son, Qaim Khan.

During the conflict between Emperor Muhammad Shah and Sayyid Brothers, Muhammad Khan is reported to had offered his services to Abdullah Khan and received large sums of money from him. After the assassination of Husain Ali, he joined the Emperor with 15,000 men. After the defeat and death of Abdullah Khan, the Nawab was promised to be paid seven lacs of rupees from the treasury of Bengal as a reward for his assistance and meritorious services rendered to the throne, "but the money was never paid. If local myth were (*sic*) to be believed, Muhammad Khan played a much more important part than history accords him."

Muhammad Khan was made commander of 7,000 horse besides the grant of *khil'at* and 7 lakhs of rupees promised earlier in cash. He was given the title of Ghazanfar Jang and the parganas of Bhojpur and Shamsabad were assigned to him. He was appointed *subadar* of Allahabad in 1722 which post he held till 1729. The province was easier to govern and was known as *suba-i-be khar* (suba with no thorns).

Bundelkhand Affairs

Muhammad Khan was engaged against the Bundellas from 1719 to 1730. He had been appointed governor of Allahabad in 1720-21. In the later part of 1723 he was ordered to join Burhan-ul-Mulk in the operations against Chattarsal, the Jat leader. The Nawab applied to the Wazir for aid against such a powerful confederacy. Except Jai Singh of Mardah, no one else cared for the orders issued to them from Delhi. The Bundellas had captured several jagirs assigned to Mughul officers. Military operations began between Chattarsal and the Nawab. Nearly seventy to eighty thousand Pathans are said to have taken part

in the campaign. Muhammad Khan invaded Bundelkhand in 1726. After a strenuous campaign the Nawab succeeded in capturing the fort of Mundheri on 17 April, 1728. Negotiations began with the Bundellas but the appearance of the Marahattas in Central India made any settlement difficult. The Nawab complained to the Court that though he was performing the work of six to seven men, his requests to give rewards to his relatives and sons were not acceeded to.

The Marahattas under Baji Rao appeared with a large army in Central India. They encircled the army of the Nawab, but on the arrival of Qaim Khan at Supa, six miles on the other side of Jaitpur, the Marahattas gave up the blockade. Many of his soldiers left the Nawab. Muhammad Khan was advised by his officers to retreat to Jaitpur. The Marahattas invested the whole town and fort of Jaitpur. The garrison was reduced to straits. Frantic appeals were made for help to the Emperor and other chiefs, including Jai Singh. His son Qaim Khan succeeded in raising reinforcement and enlisting new troops to extricate his father from the fort. In the meantime an agreement was concluded by the Marahattas with the Bundhellas. Muhammad Khan was forced to relinquish all his conquests in Bundhelkhand and within three years Malwa was occupied by the Marahattas. Saadat Khan was jealous of both Muhammad Khan and Jai Singh and refused to help the former when he was besieged in Jaitpur. Jai Singh, whom Sarkar styles as "selfishly opportunist" had carried on secret negotiations with the Marahattas. The failure of the imperialists to keep the Marahattas out of Malwa and of northern India was due to the jealousies of the imperial officers and the intrigues at the Court.

His Removal from Allahabad

The siege of Jaitpur lasted about three months and ten days, from May to August 1729. He was summoned to the court leaving Qaim Khan in charge of his army. Muhammad Khan was relieved of the governorship of Allahabad and replaced by Sarbuland Khan 1729-30. According to the *Siyar-ul-Matakhkhirin* he was removed from the governorship of Allahabad because of his failure in Bundhelkhand. "This does not seem quite correct for, if the *Farhat-un-Nazirin* is to be trusted, the appointment to Allahabad was not conferred on Sarbuland Khan Mubariz-ul-Mulk, till 1144 H. (July 1731—June 1732). Before this

Muhammad Khan had been restored to favour, and his *sanad* for the Nizamat of Malwa is dated the 17th Rabi I, of the 12th year (1143 H-19th Sept. 1730). The removal from Allahabad in 1144 H. is, therefore, more probably to be attributed to some ill-feeling amongst Mughal officers due to Muhammad Khan's dealings in Malwa, where he was then present." He was later transferred to Malwa in 1730. He accepted the new office on the promise that he would receive the *faujdari* for Gwalior and his men will receive promotions. These promises were not fulfilled.

Nawab Muhammad Khan reached Sarangpur about 50 miles from Ujjain with his troops on 15 January 1731. The Marahattas made a sudden attack, but were repulsed. On receiving intelligence, that the Marahattas intended to plunder the villages and towns of Malwa, the Nawab set out again to take the field on 8 February 1731. The Nawab had reached Dhar on February 20, 1731 and skirmishes continued uptill 26 February 1731, but the Marahattas were driven back flying from Sarangpur "like crows on seeing a bow".

The Marahattas were finally driven from Ujjain, Mandesor, Dhar and Dholpur. Their attempt to re-invade Ujjain on the instigation of Yar Muhammad Khan of Bhopal was foiled. Their forts on the Narbada were destroyed. Nawab Muhammad Khan met Asif Jah at Akbarpur in April 1731 and agreed to collaborate with him. This collaboration was in the nature of a pious wish and never materialized.

After capturing several forts Muhammad Khan returned to Ujjain on 9 May 1731. His soldiers had been in arrears and demanded payment of the same. He restored order in the ranks and left Ujjain on 15th May. Throughout this period the Raja Bahadur of Orchha had been reluctant to cooperate with Muhammad Khan though the Kunwar did. Most of them deserted him thus weakening him considerably. Muhammad Khan moved to Sirang, a place about 136 miles North-East of Ujjain and about 153 miles south of Gwalior. He made it his headquarters and encamped there throughout the rainy season of 1731.

The Condition of the Province

There was complete chaos in Malwa and the intrigues of his rivals

and the impotent passivity of the Emperor made his work difficult. His troubles were increased by the Jagirdars of Malwa, who were patronized by Khan Dauran Khan and Roshan-ud-Daulah who did not cooperate with the Nawab. Even the assistance of the Marahattas was seriously sought to embarrass the governor. The Nawab decided to take strong measure against the rebellious jagirdars. He led an expedition against Chattar Singh in October/November 1731 and forced him to surrender. The Marahatta invasion of Malwa forced Muhammad Khan to discontinue his operations against Chattar Singh. Realizing that resistance was impossible he bought off the Marahattas by gifts and *nazrana,* but a desperate struggle continued against the Marahattas. Without any assistance from the Emperor or the Nizam, with his resources exhausted, Muhammad Khan felt helpless. In December 1732 he was relieved of the Governorship of Malwa and summoned to the court. "It must be admitted that with inferior means Muhammad Khan did as much, if not more, than all the forces of the Emperor . . . . . were able to accomplish." Soon after he was replaced by Raja Jai Singh Sawai. He went to Agra on 6 December 1732.

> "Apart from difficulties about money, and the general non-success of his arms, three causes appear to have led to Muhammad Khan's disgrace: (1), the complaints of the jagirdars, who were influential in the palace, (2), the attack on Chattar Singh Narwari, who was protected by the favourite, Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, and others, (3), the friendship which appeared to have sprung up between Muhammad Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk, whose acts were then most jealously watched by the clique in power. The subsequent rapid advance of the Marahattas is Muhammad Khan's best justification, and it is clear that with inferior means he did as much, if not more, than the Wazir and the Amir-ul-Umara, backed by all the forces of the empire were able to accomplish."

Campaign against the Marahattas 1732—36

The Marahatta pressure on northern India increased and demands were made by them which could not be accepted. Muhammad Khan Bangash who had been living in retirement was induced to join the

Mughuls in a counter campaign against the Marahatta and commissioned to guard the Jamna fords. He joined Khan-i-Dauran with 12,000 horses. He was later directed to join Qamar-ud-Din against the Marahattas who had advanced between Sironj and Narwar. An expedition was sent against Raja Bhagwant, son of Udaru, the murderer of Jan Nisar Khan. The Raja fled away on 11 June 1733 after some opposition. Muhammad Khan held Gwalior and prevented the Marahattas from occupying it. He then decided to come out in the open and fight the enemy. He crossed the Jamna and forced the Marahattas to retreat.

Muhammad Khan had been promised the governorship of Patna and Bengal in recognition of his services but he was appointed to the Province of Allahabad in the beginning of November/December 1735, This post he held for only a few months.

Nadir Shah after the defeat of the Imperial troops near Karnal in February 1739, called upon Nawab Muhammad Khan who had been in rear-guard of Muhammad Shah's forces to appear at the court. Nadir Shah received him well, praised his bravery, and bestowed on him an extremely valuable *khil'at.* The Nawab wanted to return to his *jagir* but was prevented from doing so by the clique at the court against him. His son Akbar Khan was slain in a skirmish that followed. The last years of his life were spent in his own jagir.

Nawab Muhammad Khan died at the age of more than eighty years on 9 December, 1743 of an abscess in his neck. Emperor Muhammad Shah as a special mark of favour wrote a letter during his illness expressing the wish that if the Nawab had been in court, court doctors would have looked after him. Hakim Alvi Khan, the royal physician, was sent to Farrukhabad. When the Emperor heard of the death of Muhammad Khan, he wrote this chronogram:

Sutun-i-bab-i-mulk-i-Hind uftad

A gifted and successful soldier, fearless in battle and wise in council he rose from the low position of a jamadar to the highest rank in the Mughul peerage.

Muhammad Khan indeed was a man of great energy. His habits were plain and soldierlike. He wore clothes of the coarsest stuff. In

his audience hall and his house, the only carpets were rows of common mats. He never boasted, and his manner was not overbearing. His hospitality was great. "But . . . . . we find vices which more than counter-balanced these virtues. Muhammad Khan was cruel and vindictive. In the matter of the fair sex he was far more licentious than becomes a great man." His *harem* included only one legitimate wife but he had 1700 concubines besides good dancing girls divided into 9 *akharas* or groups each consisting of 100 girls. They were drawn from different nationalities and received regular maintenance allowance. He had 22 sons and an equal number of daughters.

> "But his territories lacked the homogeneity and strength of the Ruhella state across his eastern border, because they were inhabited merely by a "local chief and his tenantry" did not form a compact tribal brotherhood with perfect cohesion among all its chiefs and their retainers. The possessions of Muhammad Khan Bangash at one time comprised the district of Farrukhabad, the western half of Kanpur, large parts of Manipuri of Elah, two parganas of Badaun and parts of the Shahjahanpur, Aligarh and Etawa Districts."

Nawab Qaim Khan Bangash

Qaim Khan, the eldest son of Muhammad Khan succeeded his father in December 1743 and was given the title of "Farzand Bahadur" by the Emperor who, we are told, had become very fond of him.

On the accession of Ahmad Shah as Emperor in 1748 the *wazarat* was conferred on Safdar Jang, a declared enemy of the Bangash family. Qaim Khan was summoned to the court but he put off compliance with the order.

Through the machination of Safdar Jang, Qaim Khan was deputed to escheat the property of Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla (d. 1749) in order to create a rift between the Bangash Nawabs and the Rohila chiefs. Bareily and Moradabad which formed the patrimony of Saadulla Khan were assigned to Qaim Khan. Earlier these *mahals* had been assigned to Qutb-ud-Din but he was resisted by the Rohillas and killed in a skirmish that followed. Qaim Khan fell into the trap and proceeded to give effect to the royal orders. All efforts at a

settlement failed. The Rohillas decided to fight and defeated and killed Qaim Khan near Badaun on 12 November 1748. As a result Bangash family suffered the loss of all their parganas on the left bank of the Ganges except those that now constitute the Aligrah Tehsil. They were saved by the pluck and devotion of a *chela* of the family.

Qaim Khan was quick witted and pleasant tempered man but rash and politically immature. Disregarding the dying injunctions of his father who had recommended four officers as his advisers. he placed himself entirely in the hands of one Mahmud Khan Afridi. He was a religious minded person, strict in performance of religious duties and read the Quran regularly. He was fond of hunting and Muhammad Shah did him the honour of permitting him to hunt in the royal hunting reserves. He showed great respect to the *ulema* and *mashaikh*. A fine soldier, he distinguished himself in many a battle and was mainly responsible for rescuing his father when the latter was besieged in Jaitpur.

> "He was a very strict Sunni, said the prayers five times daily, observed Friday, and every day wrote out a verse of the Quran. He is said to have been a great protector of learned men. He was fond of sport of every kind, and at Delhi had the Emperor's permission to shoot in his private preserves. He was also a perfect cavalier, and in those days no one equalled him in the wielding of the lance. He had a riding horse named Pari (The Fairy) famed even in the Dakhin. Mounted on it he used to hunt the *paras* and ride them down. Many other horsemen attempted it but no one succeeded. He was also clever in other ways. He could found cannon with his own hands; and he could make very good shoes. Thirty to forty years ago shoes of a pattern invented by him called "Kaim-khani" were much worn in Mau and Kaimganj. He is said to have ruled over eighty four *mahals*, but their names are not given.

He was fond of display and ostentation. "In his time on every birthday the fort used to be sumptuously adorned. In the Baradari and Buland Mahal, canopies of Sultani broadcloth embroidered in gold

used to be set up. There were twelve hundred staves or poles of gold and silver in his store-house. These were used when required to support the broadcloth awnings. A cloth of gold curtain was hung at the Kamani gate. No one's horse, or *palki* or elephant was allowed to enter the fort; all, however high in rank, dismounted at the gate . . . . . "No non-Moslem was allowed to touch his women's ornaments; no man was ever employed to sew their clothes; and no physician was ever permitted to feel their pulse. The four wives all lived at the Amethi fort. They had extensive jagirs in their own names."

Ahmad Khan Bangash Ghalib Jang

After the death of Nawab Qaim Khan, Bibi Sahiba who wanted at heart Imam Khan to succeed Qaim Khan, offered the *masnad* to Ahmad Khan, the second son of Qaim Khan, who knowing her intentions declined the offer as did the other sons. Imam Khan took his seat on the *masnad* but enjoyed little or no authority.

Safdar Jang when he heard the news of the death of Qaim Khan "laughed and joked about the sad event." He advised the Emperor Ahmad Shah to immediately invade the Bangash territory and proceed there in person. The Emperor left Delhi in November 1749 and halted at Koil. Safdar Jang summoned Nawal Rai and sent him with a large army against the Afghans who after a show of resistance, being outnumbered, returned to Farrukhabad from Khudaganj, where they had assembled. Nawal Rai advanced on Farrukhabad and Bibi Sahiba opened negotiations for a settlement with the Wazir. On solemn promises of safe conduct she visited the Wazir who gave a freehand to Nawal Rai to settle the terms of submission. Safdar Jang confiscated all the parganas except Farrukhabad and twelve villages which had formed the personal jagir of Qaim Khan's mother since the time of Farrukhsiyar. The latter kept Bibi Sahiba as a prisoner but she escaped to Mau through the good offices of one Sahib Rai an old and trusted family servant of her husband.

Ahmad Khan, the second son of Nawab Muhammad Khan had lived for some times in Delhi and later had taken farming lease of five parganas. His extravagance and frivolous pursuit of pleasure incurred

him the displeasure of Qaim Khan. He fled away from his farm to Delhi but returned home during the war with the Rohillas. After the confiscation of the territory and the return of the Wazir to Delhi, Ahmad Khan lived in retirement at Farrukhabad in his house known till a few years ago as the "Kacha Qila" (the mud fort), near the Bihisht Bagh. He could barely afford to keep two servants and a boy Ramzani, the son of an old servant of the house."

The Bangash Afghans exasperated at the high handedness and arrogance of Nawal Rai and his men, summoned the penniless Ahmad Khan to return home, placed him on the *masnad*, collected a large army with whatever money they could collect by pooling their resources and decided upon fighting. Nawal Rai on hearing of the new developments informed the Wazir who set out with a large army swearing that not one "Afghani seed would be left alive". On 21/22 July 1750 a fierce battle followed but Nawal Rai was defeated and killed in the battle of Khudaganj on 1 August, 1750. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Afghans including Nawal Rai's elephant with a gilt *howdah* and gold brokade trappings. The amount of plunder was so great that several men acquired property worth as much as one lakh of rupees. Large number of Sayyids and Shaikhs of Bilgram lost their lives in the battle. Ahmad Khan who had assumed the leadership captured Qannauj and the fort of Rang Mahal where large booty and foodstores were captured. When Rang Mahal, the fort of Nawal Rai was visited by the men of Ahmad Khan after the battle, they found hundreds of thousands of rupees in cash and a very large quantity of grain stored there. "There were gold brocade curtains, the doors and lintels were plated with silver and gold, there was a jewelled bedstead with pillows of velvet and the basins and covers were of gold studded with jewels." He himself returned to Farrukhabad and presented offerings to Bibi Sahiba through his step-mother.

The Wazir had left Delhi on 21/22 July 1750, but he received the news of Nawal Rai's death near Marehra, He was joined by Suraj Mal Jat and in retaliation he ordered the execution of the five princes in his custody at Allahabad who were beheaded with great indignity. At the same time he issued orders to his son Jalal-ud-Din Haider (afterwards known as Shuja-ud-Daula) to execute the *chelas* which order was carried out on 12 August 1750.

The Defeat of the Wazir at Ram Chatauni

Suraj Mal and the Wazir now advanced against Ahmad Khan whom they engaged in battle on 13 September, 1750. The Wazir's attempt at breaking the Afghan resistance was foiled by his defeat at Ram Chatauni though Suraj Mal had succeeded in defeating and killing Rustam Khan. The Wazir was wounded but fled to Delhi which he entered on 20 September. Due to his failure in this campaign, Safdar Jang was replaced by Intizam-ud-Daula, Khan-i-Khanan. The Emperor then sent a *farman* to Ahmad Khan with a robe of honour, an elephant, a horse and a sword, directing him to return to Farrukhabad instead of advancing towards Delhi. The Nawab returned to his capital. The Wazir now despairing of disloding Ahmad Khan and his men from the newly recovered territories proceeded with the help of Jawed Khan to win back the favour of the Emperor who restored him to favour. The Wazir next decided to enlist the support of the Marahattas in order to consolidate his position by weakening the Afghans. The animosity of the Wazir against the Bangash Nawabs was a family legacy for the Wazir coveted the possession of rich *duab* lands.

On the defeat of Shadil Khan at the hands of Ali Quli Khan, the Deputy in Allahabad, the Nawab marched in person to the fort of Allahabad. The whole of Allahabad from Khuldabad upto the fort was burnt and plundered.

Safdar Jang was pardoned by the Emperor and ordered to march against Nawab Ahmad Khan. This time Safdar Jang bribed the Marahattas and Jats by the payment of one crore of rupees to join him in the campaign. The Marahatta's, first attack was launched against Shadil Khan at Koil, who was compelled to retreat towards the capital along the left bank of the Ganges between 17 March—15 April 1751. The Nawab retreated towards Farrukhabad and encamped on the bank of the Ganges. The Marahattas under Tantia were sent to cut off the Nawab's supply lines but the invaders were soon repulsed by the Afghans.

The Nawab asked for help from Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Rohila, Saadulla Khan, Mulla Sardar Khan, Dunde Khan, Fath Khan and Bahadar Khan Chela. Bahadar Khan and Saadulla Khan decided to help the Nawab. When the Wazir heard of it, he desired a

reconciliation but negotiations failed, The Wazir sent Khande Rao and Tantia with 50,000 men to attack Saadulla Khan but they were soon repulsed by the Rohilas. Bahadar Khan who pursued the enemy was ambushed and killed on 16 April-May, 1751. The Rohilas then returned to Aonla and the deserted camp was set on fire. The Nawab himself returned to Anwala, his absence from the camp causing considerable confusion in his army that was left behind.

From Aonla the Nawab marched towards Muradabad alongwith the Rohila chiefs and encamped at the foot of the Kumaon hills. After the rainy season of 1751, the campaign was renewed. Safdar Jang sent Khande Rao to check the advance of the Nawab who after a short time sued for peace and a secret treaty was signed between the Nawab and the Marahattas. The Nawab then encamped near Surajpur to reorganize his troops for another attack. In the meantime the Wazir rejoined Malhar Rao Holkar on 17 November, 1751 at Singhrampur. Hearing of the arrival of the Wazir, the Afghans decided to retire to the hills. The Nawab hesitated to engage the enemy and agreed to retire and went to Aonla. In the meantime Safdar Jang heard of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion of India and he was advised to make peace with the Nawab.

Negotiations through Ali Quli Khan

Meanwhile negotiations began between the belligerents through Ali Quli Khan who went to the Nawab's camp and handed over to him the Emperor's personal letter. The Nawab's son and Hafiz Rahmat Khan were sent to the Wazir's camp to settle terms of peace. Ahmad Khan accepted the harsh terms imposed on him by the treaty of Lucknow (February 1752), by which he was permitted to retain 16 and a half of his 33 parganas, the other sixteen and a half were ceded to the Marahattas in satisfaction of a claim of thirty lakhs which the Wazir owed them and which they were to hold till Ahmad Khan could pay the amount. Hostilities were then ended and both the armies returned to their respective capitals in early 1752. The Wazir took with him Mahmud Khan and Hafiz Rahmat Khan to stay with him till the terms were finally settled. On reaching Lucknow, the Wazir bestowed on Mahmud Khan, the son of Ahmad Khan, a *khil'at* of seven pieces and conferred upon him the territory of his father. He also gave him the title of "Qaim Jang." Hafiz Rahmat Khan

was also given a robe of honour, and then both of them were permitted to return.

Ahmad Khan gave himself up to amusement and pleasure after this strenuous campaign. He married one Khair-un-Nisa, two years after a son was born to him whom he named Diler Himmat Khan. The Emperor bestowed on him the title of Muzaffar Jang. Ghazi-ud-Din Imadul Mulk visited Farrukhabad on his way to Awadh in September 1757. When Najib Khan was appointed Amir-ul-Umara, Imad-ul-Mulk retaliated by appointing Ahmad Khan as imperial Bakhshi, returned to Delhi with the help of Ahmad Khan and the Marahattas and expelled Najib-ud-Daula.

During the sixth invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani, Ahmad Khan went to pay his respects to him alongwith the Rohila leaders. Before the battle of Panipat attempts were made to poison the mind of Ahmad Shah Abdali against him but Ahmad Shah ignored the reports. In the battle of Panipat Ahmad Khan acquitted himself well against the artillery of Ibrahim Gardi and was presented with a *jigha* and awarded a *khil'at*.

Shuja-ud-Daula now persuaded the Emperor to join him in the campaign against Ahmad Khan, which had been deferred when the news of Abdali's coming to India had reached the belligerents, who had given shelter to Umrau Giri Gosain with his Naga followers. Shuja-ud-Daula's demand for the return of Umrau Giri was curtly refused by Ahmad Khan Bangash. Najib-ud-Daula joined Shuja and the Emperor. Hostilities would have broken out but peace was made through the good offices of Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

When Shuja-ud-Daula was defeated in the battle of Buxar in May 1765, he came to Farrukhabad. The Nawab and Hafiz Rahmat Khan persuaded him to come to terms with the English. As a result a treaty was signed at Allahabad in August 1765. After the occupation of Delhi by the Marahattas and the deteriorating condition of the Mughul court and the camp, Farrukhabad became a place of refuge and security for soldiers, statesmen and men of letters. Amongst the celeberated statesmen, soldiers and men of letters who visited and enjoyed the hospitality and munificence of the Nawabs of Bangash may be mentioned Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk who went there in 1762, Nawab Khadim Husain Khan, Nawab Mir Jumla Abdullah Khan,

Nawab Yahya Khan, eldest son of Khan Bahadur Zakarya Khan who had turned a *faqir*, Nawab Salim Khan, Nawab Bu Ali Khan, cousin of Qasim Ali Khan *subadar* of Bengal, Chhote Sahib and Bare Sahib related to the Wazir Qamar-ud-Din Khan, Nawab Nasir Khan, a former *subadar* of Kabul, Nawab Haider Quli Khan, *subadar* of Gujarat and his brother Nawab Jafar Quli Khan, Raja Jugul Kishore, agent of Mahabat Jang, *subadar* of Bengal and many others of lesser note.

Ahmad Khan married his son Muzaffar Jang to the daughter of Khudabanda Khan with great pomp and splendour.

Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash was afflicted with inflammation of the eyes nearly two years before his death, and all treatment having failed he lost his sight. He died on 12 July 1771 and was buried in Bihisht Bagh in the tomb prepared by him in his own lifetime. The Emperor accompanied by Shuja-ud-Daulah marched to Savaiya and confirmed Muzaffar Jung as Ahmad Khan's successor. A sum of three lakhs with seven elephants and eleven horses was presented as *nazr*. Najaf Khan received one lakh for arranging a settlement. Of Ahmad Khan, Irvine speaks as one "who had little national energy or ambition. He was emphatically one of those who instead of achieving greatness have greatness thrust on them." This remark is partly true. He was by nature indolent, vain and easy going. In times of danger he was more active and evinced in his campaigns qualities of personal courage, fearlessness and foresight, but he lacked stability of character and was incapable of sustained effort. In his early life he was fond of pleasure and was easy going, extravagant and vain. But he was not devoid of courage and reckless bravery in the thick of battle. He was easily disspirited and thoroughly lacked resoluteness and patient consistency in the pursuit of his policies. Neither a far-seeing statesman nor a diplomat, all that he succeeded in doing was to maintain his vast estate in the face of heavy odds. His love of pleasure and of ostentation sometimes neutralized his other good qualities. When he married a second time he repeated the verse that he liked wine that was two years old and a girl of sixteen years of age. The pageantry that marked the wedding of his son and the hospitality and financial assistance extended to visitors to Farrukhabad impoverished the state so much so that he left an empty treasury and to pay the customary

nazr to the Emperor, the silver *howdahs* and furniture had to be sold to find money for the *nazr*. The following brief account of the festivities on the occasion of the marriage of his son will be of interest to the reader:

Festivities continued for a month and the guests were entertained with rich food and drinks and music, dancing and buffoon's performances continued throughout the night. The city presented a festive look and an idea of the lavish arrangements may be formed from the following account:

> "For illuminating the city bamboo screens were put up along both sides of the road from the gate of the fort to the gate of Khudabandah. They adorned these screens with shades of mica and of cypress grass and with glass shades. Platforms adorned with brocade cloth of gold and satin were prepared to carry the dancing women. This work was made over to Haji Sarfraz Khan and Namdar Khan, the elder. The fireworks were under Nasir Khan. Shafi Khan, *darogha* of the elephant stables, was ordered to prepare *hawdahs* and a *bangla* (covered hawdah) and an *amara* (howdahs high at the sides), adorned with gold and silver. The elephants were to be in attendance at the gate of the fort. Bakhshi Fakhur-ud-Daula and Diwan Mihrban Khan were told that when the bridegroom mounted his elephant (megdambar), the nobles of Delhi were to be escorted to their elephants. The commanders of regiments and the *jamadars* attended in their best raiment accompanied by their relations.
>
> "When the procession was formed the illuminations were lit in one blaze from the fort gate to Khuda Banda Khan. They were formed of mica shades and round globes (Kwinkwina) placed on the left and right of the roadway. In front there were lustres with five or six branches each making a total of fifty or sixty thousand lights. Then followed the thrones on which the dancing girls performed. Thus with splendour and display, the bridegroom's party advanced step by step. Fireworks were let off at intervals. From both sides gold and silver flowers were flung on the

bridegroom for good luck. At length they reached the bride's door. The Nawab and the bridegroom and the nobles entered while the other leaders attended outside. Dancing and singing then began, the whole night was thus passed. At daybreak the bridegroom was taken into the women's apartment for the ceremonies usual there. Then coming out the bride was put into a *chandol* (a sort of sedan chair), which was covered with cloth of gold. All that Khudabandah Khan possessed in the way of goods and chattels, he sent with his daughter as her marriage present. Then the return was made to the fort in the order in which they had come. At the fort all nobles, chief men and bankers attended to congratulate the Nawab, and made their offerings. Next day, rich gifts were bestowed on the dancers, the buffoons and story tellers. Suits of clothes were sent to every noble, the Nawab's brother and brother's sons to the chief of the Bangash tribe and to the employees of the state.'

There was a streak of nobility in his character which prevented him from double dealing. Like a true Afghan he refused to surrender Umrao Giri who had sought asylum with him and was treated as a guest. Chicanery and taking advantage of those who sought his protection he destested. When Shuja-ud-Daulah fled after his defeat at Karah-Jahanabad in May 1765 and came to Farrukhabad, some of Ahmad Khan's close friends suggested that the "Irani" (Shuja-ud-Daulah) should be murdered. True to the Afghan tradition Ahmad Khan is reported to have replied that "treachery was not the habit of his family; by God's grace, he killed his enemies if at all in the open field."

He was extremely generous. When he passed through the streets of the city he was accompanied by men carrying bags of money. The humble poor, the weak, the blind, the lame and the sick were allowed to approach his *palki*. "To all these money was given; not one poor man was passed over." During a famine in Delhi he used to distribute Rs. 5,000 a day to the poor of all castes and creeds.

The Nawab's retinue was accompanied by numerous *selah-bardars*, spearmen, (*barchi-bardars*), lancemen (*bhaladars*) macemen, (*chobdars*) heralds (*naqibs*) flatterers (*badfarosh*), bards and singers. The Nawab's

titles were announced and his praises cried out as the procession moved on. It was preceded at a little distance, by a number of men with bamboo sticks, lacquered in various colours, gold, scarlet, and so forth, some plain and some with flowered patters. For about two cubits of their length these bamboos were split. If anyone came in the way of the retinue, whether rich or poor, he was beaten with those sticks. They were also used on anybody who incurred the Nawab's anger. The sound made by the blows was so great that it could be heard a quarter of a *kos* off, though no wound was caused. Any one who was beaten considered that his lucky star was in the ascendant, for the Nawab was sure to send for him. Then he would say "You have not been hurt", and the man would reply "Nawab Sahib, each bone in my body aches as if it had been broken." Then he would receive a present in cash and goods, to the amount that his fate had willed for him.

Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash was fond of music, particularly the *rag bihag*. The Nawab loved "highly decorated buildings and where he slept he had the walls adorned with pictures of himself and his friends." He built palaces, several mosques, baths (including hot and air baths) and laid out several gardens.

The Farrukhabad state consisted at one time of 44 mahals. Irvine has been able to identify only 33, half of which were later ceded to the Marahattas. The revenue demand was eighty lakhs of rupees the Nawab's revenue from other sources being sixty lakhs of rupees.

Ahmad Khan had four wives besides many concubines. He had three sons and one daughter. Following the example of his father he had made three hundred or four hundred Hindu boys his slaves (chelas) who had been converted to Islam and formed his slave-corpe. They were known as *Ghal Bachas*. One of his *chelas*, Islam Khan had distinguished himself in many battles.

"Islam Khan is said to have been in twelve fights. and he had received many wounds. Every day he drank spirits, but in Farrukhabad in Muzaffar Jang's time that was thought no fault. If any friend asked him his sect he would say "Besides Allah, I know nothing, and my creed is that 'La-Illah-illa-allah, Ahmad Khan rasul allah (There is no god, but Allah, and Ahmad Khan is the prophet) for has he not made me from a Hindu into a Muhammadan." He was so attached to intoxicating liquor that on the day he died, some hour or two before his death, he had a bottle of spirits and a cup besides him. He went

on demanding spirits from his sons and drinking. One son said, "Khan sahib, your death is now near, renounce wine and God will foregive your sins." He said to him, "My son! why renounce it now, I never did so when I was well, bring me the wine cup and fill it to the brim". He drank and expired shortly after.

Besides these there were scores of slaves employed in various ways. Farrukhabad produced a number of men of letters and historians. Sahib Rai collected the letters of Nawab Muhammad Khan Bangash and named it *Khujista Kalam.* Sayyid Hussamuddin Gwaliari compiled an original work on the first four Nawabs. Bhabutti *Bhat* of Atackpur near Qaimgang wrote an ode on Nawab Ahmad Khan's victory at Khudaganj and was rewarded with a tax-free village. Poets Sauda and Mir Soz were for a long time in the employ of Ahmad Khan's minister, Mihrban Khan who himself was a poet.

THE SUCCESSORS OF NAWAB AHMAD KHAN

Nawab Dilir Himmat Khan Muzaffar Jang

Ahmad Khan Bangash was succeeded by his second son, Nawab Dilir Himmat Khan Muzaffar Jang (b. 1757-58) after a disputed succession. Muzaffar Jang had a reputation for generosity, courage, forbearance and learning. In later years he had to change several *nazims* and confiscate the jagirs of his brothers. His life was on the whole uneventful except for his participation in two battles, one between Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Shuja-ud-Daulah in 1774, and the other battle fought at Dojura in 1794 between Asafuddaulah and Ghulam Muhammad Khan, son of Nawab Faizullah Khan. These battles, brought him neither renown nor profit. Muzaffar Jang was poisoned by his son Rustam Ali Khan and died in 1796.

Nawab Imdad Husain Khan Nasir Jang

Muzaffar Jang was succeeded by his second son Imdad Husain (b. 1783). He obtained a title and a *khi'at* from Muhammad Akbar Shah. Nasir Jang was fond of music and was himself an accomplished musician. He was an expert pigeon-forcier. Weak and pleasure loving he was dominated by his women. By a treaty signed on 4 June 1802, Nasir Jang handed over his estate considerably reduced after the Rohila war, to the East India Company in return for an annual pension of one lakh and eight thousand rupees.*

*For the state and society under the Bangash Nawabs see the last chapter.

APPENDIX I

Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk

Mir Shihab-ud-Din was the son of Mir Muhammad Shah, entitled Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Firuz Jang, eldest son of the celebrated Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah. His mother was a daughter of the well-known Wazir, Qamar-ud-Din Khan Itimad-ud-Daula. Imad-ul-Mulk's career from 1752 to 1760[1] is sufficiently well-known. From the date, however, when he ceased to play a prominent part, we are told nothing more of him than that he took refuge in one of Suraj Mal's fortresses. In one work we are told that he was found by Colonal Goddard at Surat in 1790[2] and that, by order of the Supreme Government, he was sent off to Mecca, whence he never returned. How far this statement is correct will presently be shown. The *Khizana Amira*, which was written in 1762-1763, naturally concludes Imad-ul-Mulk's story by leaving him hiding in the Bhartpur country. But there can be no doubt that his family and friends were sent to Farrukhabad, and that from at least the year 1762 he himself lived there constantly. The quarter of the city where he lived, near the Qadiri gate, is still known as the Chaoni or encampment of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan. The income of Parganah Bilhore, said to amount to Rs. 12,000 a month, was allotted to him by Ahmad Khan during his stay in Farrukhabad.

In 1771, when Ahmad Khan died, and the Emperor Shah Alam was approaching Farrukhabad, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, fearing vengeance for the murder of Alamgir II, the Emperor's father, thought it advisable to quit that city. He left his relations and servants there and started with a few faithful retainers. We do not know how the interval was passed, but the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* says, that in 1187 H (March 1773-March 1774), he appeared in Malwa, where the Mahrattas gave him several mahals for his support. We learn from the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* that he was found by Colonel Goddard at Surat in February 1780, Thence he was despatched on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Returning by Basrah, he travelled to Kabul and Qandahar, where he visited the ruler, Taimur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Durrani. At that time the prince Ahsan Bakht, son of Emperor Shah Alam, who, after the blinding of his father by Ghulam Qadir Khan (June 1788), had escaped from Delhi, and had wandered homeless through Rajputana, past Jainagar, Bikaner, and Multan, arrived at Taimur Shah's court. Out of regard

for him as a descendant of the great Taimur, as a relation of Shah Alam, and as a guest, to whom the rights of hospitality were due, the king treated him with consideration. He sent some of his own troops to accompany the prince and Imad-ul-Mulk towards Multan, promising to march soon in person for the conquest of Hindustan. Shortly after this the king died[3] and was succeeded by his son, Zaman Shah, who was detained at home by his own rebellious subjects. When Ahsan Bakht and Imad-ul-Mulk reached Sindh, the Kabul troops, hearing of the death of Taimur Shah, returned to their home. 'Imad-ul-Mulk and Nasir Khan Biluch went to Bahawalpur, In time a quarrel arose between the prince and Imad-ul-Mulk, owing to many of the prince's companions being mean and base fellows. The prince remained in Multan, where he became afflicted with melancholy madness and passed the rest of his days there out of his senses. Meanwhile Imad-ul-Mulk found his way to Ali Bahadur Marahatta, son of Shamsher Bahadur, who had an army and some territory in Bundelkhand. From him he obtained a grant of fifty two villages, which form the petty state, now known as Baoni, measuring about fifteen miles across each way. It lies about 12 miles east of Kalpi, in a bend of the river Jamna.[4] Imad-ul-Mulk died at Kalpi on the 10th Rabi II, 1215 H. (1st September 1800), when his age must have been about sixty-eight. According to the orders contained in his will he was buried at the shrine of Shaikh Farid Shakarganj at Pakpatan.[5] His son, Nasir-ud-Daula. was in possession when the British occupied Bundelkhand in 1803, and to him the grant was confirmed by the Governor-General's letter of the 24th December 1806. The further history of the family will be found in the Gazetteer, under the article Baoni.

By Umdah Begam, daughter of Muin-ul-Mulk, the son of Qamar-ud-Din Khan, who was Wazir from 1721 to 1749, he had one son called Ali Jah; and by Gunna Begam, daughter of 'Ali Quli Khan Daghistani, poetically styled Walih, he had one son, Nasir-ud-Daula. By another wife he had a son, Ghulam Jilani Khan, who died at Delhi from eating ice. The *Maasir-ul-Umar* tells us that he had a large family, and one of his sons finding his way to Haiderabad was, on account of his relationship to the reigning house, made a Panj Hazari, with the title of Hamid-ud-Daula and a money allowance.

Gunna Begam, Imad-ul-Mulk's wife, came to Farrukhabad with him. Herself a poet, she was the daughter of the poet, Ali Quli Khan known as Walih. Her tomb is at Nurabad, sixty three miles south of Agra and fifteen miles north of Gwaliyar. It bears the short inscription "Alas! Gunna Begam" 1187 H (25th March, 1773-14th March 1774).[6]

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REFERENCES

1. Elphinstone, 651-659.

2. A mistake for 1780. See Wilson's Mill, VI, 37 note, from which the statement is taken.

3. Taimur Shah died on the 7th Shawwal 1207 H. 18th August 1793 (*Tarikh-i-Ahmad* of Abdul Karim).

4. *Gaz. N. W. P. I.* 384 and Aitchison's *Treaties*, III. 250. under the word Aaon.

5. In the Punjab, ten miles west of the Ravi-Thornton, 757.

6. *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. II, 397.

SECTION II

THE ROHILAS

The Eastern Afghans as Sir Olaf Caroe designates them, had their homeland in Roh[1] by which name their country was known to the Indian historians and the emperors of Delhi. The country of Roh extended from Swat and Bajour in the northwest to the district of Bhakhar in Sind, and from Hasanabdal to Kabul, Qandahar and the Sulaiman mountains.[2] From the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, the Afghan and Pathan tribesmen "furnished the spearhead of the Muslim penetration and conquestion of India.[3] and Roh formed an 'inexhaustible' spring from which mercenary armies would be drawn".[4]

In the beginning of the 18th century chiefly as a result of Nadir Shah's military action against the Afghans in Iran, a large number of Afghan soldiers of fortune crossed into India and established themselves in Katehr which later came to be known as Rohilkhand but where Afghan mercenaries had settled much earlier. Katehr is "bounded by the Ganges on the West and the Garra (also called the Deeha) river on the east, with the Ramganga running almost midway between the two. The Afghan immigrants had two considerable settlements even beyond Rohilkhand as thus defined, namely, to the south and east of that province, stretching west of the Ganges to the Kali Nadi and beyond, and east of the Garra up to the Sai river":[5] This region formed an ideal place for these hardy warlike immigrants. Many Afghans colonies were already established there, the climate was suitable and the thick forests in the north and the mountaneous territory offered them a safe refuge whenever they were hard pressed or defeated in the plains, by their enemies.

Daud Khan

The Rohilas, though they had been coming in large numbers from the time of Shahjahan onwards, became distinct group after the death of Alamgir I under a soldier of fortune, Daud Khan. The latter was a slave of Shah Alam Khan,[6] the grandson of Shihabuddin, alias Kota Baba, of Bahraich clan. As Shah Alam had no issue he adopted

Daud as his son. Daud came to India in about 1707. The Hindu Zamindars of Katehr were always engaged in hostilities against each other and enlisted Afghan mercenaries in their armies. Daud Khan soon after his arrival took service with the Raja of Mudkar in Siruli in Bareily district. Being of an adventurous spirit and gifted with courage and considerable organizing ability, he offered his services to the Mughuls the Marahattas and obtained as a reward for his gallantry the village of Baoli and lands in other villages. A large number of Afghan chiefs, Malik Shadi Khan, Najib Khan, Dundey Khan, Bakhshi Sardar Khan and several soldiers swelled the ranks of the fast growing army. He soon had a large following at his disposal and was recognized as leader of the Afghans in that part of the country. Of the Muslim officers of the Mughuls, he secured the friendship of Nawab Azmatullah, the Faujdar of Moradabad and this friendship proved of considerable value to his successor, Ali Muhammad Khan.

The services of Daud Khan were now in great demand. Through the good offices of the Raja of Kashipur he was introduced to Devi Chand the Raja of Kumaon. In 1726 Azmatullah Khan, the Faujdar of Moradabad sent an army against Raja Devi Chand. Daud Khan is reported to have given half hearted support to his employer with the result that the Raja was defeated and in retaliation he had Daud Khan treacherously murdered. Thus ended the career of Daud Khan, a man of great courage and political foresight. He has been suspected of having had a hand in the murder of his former master, Shah Alam, out of fear that the master would take him back to his own country. Inspite of the fact that Daud Khan had a son of his own, he nominated his adopted son, Ali Muhammad Khan, as his successor, with the consensus of other Afghan officers.

Ali Muhammad Khan

Ali Muhammad Khan's origin is shrowded in mystery. According to the commonly accepted account, Daud found a young boy deserted by his parents under a tree during his raid of Bankoli. Daud Khan picked the boy up, took a fancy to him and brought him up as his own son. The mother of Ali Muhammad Khan who had been found beside the body of this child was buried. Ali Muhammad Khan is reported to have been only 18 months of age, and according to other

accounts 8 years old at that time.[7] According to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin*[8] Ali Muhammad Khan was an Ahir by birth. According to others he was of Jat parentage. The Maulvi Najmul Ghani at the instance of the Nawab of Rampur connected his ancestors with the Holy Prophet but he later on recanted.[9] Inspite of the mystery that surrounds the origin, parentage and caste of Ali Muhammad Khan, judging from his latter career he appears to have been an Afghan whom Daud Khan adopted him as his son. In all contemporary histories he is never spoken of as a Sayyid but as a Rohila, but Ali Muhammad Khan out of gratitude and respect for Daud Khan prided on being a Rohila.[10]

Ali Muhammad Khan thus obtained a position of importance in Katehr after the assassination of his master, Daud Khan, who had trained him as a soldier. With his native intelligence and courage, Ali Muhammad Khan who was then fourteen years of age had gained proficiency in horsemanship, archery, fencing and the use of spear. He took over his Jagir at Nibbiabowlee, and soon after waited on Azmatullah Khan, and with his permission or connivance took possession of Daud Khan's entire Jagir lands. He soon fell foul of Muhammad Salik to whom his fief had been transferred and who now proceeded to take it by force. Ali Muhammad Khan defeated Muhammad Salik at Manauna and captured Aonla. His occupation of Aonla was confirmed by a royal *farman* through the good offices of Wazir Qamar-ud-Din. In the military operations against the Sayyid brothers Ali Muhammad Khan rendered valuable services to the Mughuls. He was awarded the title of Nawab and granted other insignia of authority by the Emperor after the death of Saif-ud-Din in the battle of Jansat. Due to the general dissatisfaction of the jagirdars and the machinations of his enemies the Emperor later sent Raja Harnand against the Nawab. The Raja was defeated and killed in battle by Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dundey Khan and Payenda Khan. The *parganas* of Shahabad, Muradabad, Sambhal and the district of Bareily were reduced to submission. In 1740 Ali Muhammad Khan was appointed governor of Kateher, now called Rohilkhand. The Rohilas were in a short time successfully in annexing *pargana* of Pilibhit, the fort of Barakhera, and the town of Almorah which the Muslims occupied for the first time. The Nawab visited the tomb of Daud Khan, prayed for his

soul and thrice exclaimed "I have avenged your blood". These operations against the Raja of Kumaon had been undertaken to avenge the murder of Daud Khan.

The Nawab soon came into conflict with the Subadar of Awadh, Safdar Jang, who was afraid of the growing power of the Rohilas, settled so near his province. An imperial force was sent against him at the instance of the subahdar. The Nawab put up a feeble resistance but was defeated near Bangarh and sought safety in submission to the Emperor. He was taken to Delhi as a prisoner. Soon after his capture Hafiz Rahmat Khan rallied the staggered Afghan forces, summoned fresh levies from Roh and at the head of a large force encamped before Delhi and demanded the release of Ali Muhammad Khan. The Emperor discreetly restored the prisoner to favour and appointed him governor of Sarhind.

In his new assignment he conducted, with the active cooperation of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, punitive operations against the refractory Hindu Rajas and captured Raipur Jatpur, Kot and Jagram.

The invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1748, the death of Muhammd Shah and of Qamar-ud-Din provided him an opportunity to return to Rohilkhand. His sons, Faizullah Khan and Abdullah Khan were, however, taken to Kabul, as hostages by Ahmad Shah Abdali to insure his loyalty. Once again at the helm of affairs, he severely crushed the refractory local leaders, Hindu rajas and the disloyal zamindar and others who had gained influence during his absence from his estate.

In the words of Hamilton, "In the space of a few weeks, the country was put completely under a Pathan Government and this decided mode of proceeding, although harsh and tyrannical, was certainly the only means of securing Ali Muhammad in that absolute independence at which he aimed. During the remainder of his life no attempt was made to disturb or subvert the despotic authority of the Afghans in Rohilkhand."[11]

On the accession of Ahmad Shah as emperor in Delhi in 1748, Ali Muhammad supported Safdar Jang in the contest for Wizarat. He sent Hafiz Rahmat Khan with 1,000 men represent him. He was taken ill soon after and died of dropsy on September 17, 1749, at

the age of forty-four, leaving six sons, the two elder ones having been taken away by Ahmad Shah Abdali to Qandahar, and the other four were minors. He was buried at Aonla.

Of handsome and commanding appearance, he was a born leader of men, wise, sagacious and brave. He rose to the high position by sheer merit and patient and skilful diplomacy. He had raised a formidable force, well organized and well equipped, which was devoted to him. Writing in 1746, Anand Ram Mukhlis recorded his impression of the Afghan army thus: "every soldier in his army, whether horse or foot, carries a musket, every commander of ten or a hundred infantry has his own small banner of parti-coloured cloth, and these are carried at the head of the cavalcade in marching, so that it looks as if a flower garden is travelling with them."[12] The same author describes him when he saw him at the time of his surrender to the Mughuls "as a man of medium height, with a fair complexion, blooming face and open forehead, about forty years old, but looking youthful and dauntlessly brave."[13]

Hamilton thus assesses the character and achievements of Ali Muhammad Khan: "If Ali Muhammad Khan had lived longer he would have raised the country to a high degree of prosperity; for being altogether unmolested by other interference he employed his whole time in making certain wise and salutary regulations placing his army on a respectable footing and correcting and arranging different departments of government with a skill, which distinguished his character as much for his policy and prudence in the exercise of power . . . . . and perseverance and enterprise by which power was acquired."[14]

On the death of Ali Muhammad Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, whom Ali Muhammad Khan had in his lifetime nominated as his successor, was entrusted with the government as the Chief guardian of his sons, with Dunday Khan as the commander of the army.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan was the son of Shah Alam Khan. His father died when he was only four years of age. He received the customary education befitting the scion of a saintly family. He started trading in horses and gained considerable respect and influence

amongst the people in Afghanistan. Ali Muhammad Khan invited him to come to India which invitation the latter accepted. He was received with honour and persuaded to stay in Rohilkhand. The Hafiz with his followers chose to settle at Aonla where several villages were assigned to him. From that time onward till the death of Ali Muhammad Khan. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was the principal protagonist of the Afghan's bid for power. Soon after he took over charge as the de facto ruler of Rohilkhand, the Rohillas were faced with a new danger. Safdar Jang who had secured the much coveted wizarat through the good offices of the Rohillas now turned against him. He secured the appointment of Qutbuddin, the grandson of Azmatullah Khan, as governor of Rohilkhand in 1750. This would have meant the virtual extinction of Rohila supremacy. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, when a large army moved to Rohilkhand, had to resist this act of treachery on the part of a former friend. In a battle on the bank of the river Ramganga near Muradabad, Qutbuddin was defeated and killed and the right of the Afghans to their lands was vindicated.

Safdar Jang now became a declared enemy of the Rohilas and in order to divide the Afghans he had Qaim Khan Bangash appointed as successor of Qutbuddin. Qaim Khan advanced with a large army against Hafiz Rahmat Khan in November, 1749. In the engagement which followed near Badaun Qaim Khan and Mahmud Khan were defeated and killed. As a result of this victory the towns of Badaun, Muradabad, Ushat and Premnagar were incorporated in the dominion of Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

After appointing Fateh Khan Khansaman to the office of Amil of Badaun and Ushat, and leaving other sardars at Muradabad and Premnagar, he proceeded to Pilibhit. The Shaikh captured Sambhal and reduced the zamindars to submission. He next proceeded to Kheragarh and established Hafiz Rahmat's rule to the east of river Ghagra. Inspite of the difficulties of the terrain and the stout resistance offered by the zamindars, Khergarh was captured. In accordance with his usual practice the lands were restored to the zamindars and steps taken to rehabilitate the uprooted persons. Next followed the conquest of Bijolia, Vermapore and Sanglia. The submission of the Rajas of Malwara and Lachchiah was secured. The latter was restored to his estate on promising to pay tribute to the Rohilas.

Safdar Jang who was equally afraid of the growing power of the Bangash Nawabs, marched towards Farrukhabad with the assistance of the Marahattas and Jats. Ahmad Khan Bangash, who had succeeded Qaim Kan at the instance of his mother applied to Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dundey Khan for assistance. Hafiz Rahmat Khan readily acceded to the Nawab's request and despatched a large contingent to reinforce the Bangash army. This encounter against the Marahattas was the beginning of the Marahatta feud against the Rohilas which led to their fall later.

In the bloody battle that followed, the Afghans defeated the forces of Safdar Jang and his allies. Safdar Jang himself was wounded but escaped from the battlefield. Ahmad Khan Bangash sent a letter of congratulations to Hafiz Rahmat Khan and lavishly rewarded the Afghan officers who were mainly responsible for his recent victory. He further requested the Hafiz to assist him in his retaliatory expedition against Awadh and Allahabad to which the Rohilas chief agreed. Parmal Khan, Shaikh Kabir and other sardars marched into Awadh and took possession of the Parganas of Shahabad and Khairabad. Ahmad Khan proceeded to Allahabad and laid siege to it. His son, Mahmud, invaded Awadh and captured Lucknow. Safdar Jang who had recovered from his wounds ordered his officers in Allahabad to execute the relatives of the Bangash Nawabs who were in confinement there. The order was carried out with needless brutality. Ahmad Khan failed to capture Allahabad and Safdar Jang requested the Emperor to lead an expedition against the Afghans which request was refused. Safdar Jang in desperation sought the assistance of the Marahattas who readily responded to the call for help and captured Etawah. The joint forces of the Marahattas and Safdar Jang invaded Farrukhabad and Ahmad Khan with his family fled to Aonla.

In 1751, after the defeat of Nawab Ahmad Khan, the joint forces of the Marahattas and Safdar Jang entered Rohilkhand. The Rohilas being unable to resist the large armies of their enemies retired to the forests leaving the whole province open to devastation by the invaders. After a short stay the invaders decided in 1752 to leave the territory when they heard of the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Negotiations for peace were opened and the Rohilas agreed

to pay Rs. 50 lakhs as war indemnity to Safdar Jang and to pay five lakh to the Emperor as annual tribute. Four days after the conclusion of this treaty, Safdar Jang returned to Lucknow taking Hafiz Rehmat Khan with him up to Shahjahanpur. After a short stay he was permitted to return to his territory with a *khil'at*, an elephant, a horse, a sword, a diamond *sarpech* and an aigrette of great value. The Wazir also granted Hafiz Rahmat Khan's family the Parganas of Sambhal and Premnagar. From this time onward the Wazir addressed the Hafiz by the title of 'brother'[15] Ahmad Khan returned to Farrukhabad.

Division of the Provinces

The war against Safdar Jang and the devastation caused by the Marahatta depredations resulted in complete administrative breakdown and financial bankruptcy in the heretofore prosperous and benevolently administered Rohilkhand. To add to the confusion the factional disputes amongst the Afghan sardars made the work of reconstruction difficult. Moreover, Hafiz Rahmat's desire to devote more of his time to spiritual exercises made him share the power with the Afghan chief. As a way out of this the Rohila country was divided amongst the principal sardars—Bakhshi Sardar Khan, Saadulla Khan, Dundey Khan, Mulla Mohsin, Shaikh Kabir and others, Hafiz-ul-Mulk receiving the major portion. Besides the large jagirs so allotted, an annual sum of seven lakhs of rupees was provided for the personal expenses of Saadullah Khan and his three brothers. This partition of Rohila territory weakend the Rohilas and led later to their destruction. It is difficult to understand the action of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, otherwise so sagacious and prudent, except as symptomatic of Afghan national individualism and Hafiz Rehmat Khan's disgust with the petty bickerings amongst the Afghan sardars who could sacrifice future gains for present profit. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan's warning that 'those who entrust the work of government to several persons undermine the foundation of their confederacy" was completely forgotten or ignored.[16]

Faizullah Khan and Abdullah Khan returned to Katehcr after their release by Ahmad Shah Abdali.[17] The jagirs assigned to the brothers of Saadullah were further partitioned on account of their mutual jealousies. Abdullah Khan, harsh and ill-tempered, fell out with Faizullah Khan and made an unsuccessful attempt to poison

Rahmat Khan. As a punishment he was exiled. Later on, he was forgiven through the good offices of Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash and was allowed to return home. The jagir of Ujjain and Sehswan were allotted to him, where he resided till his death. To Faizullah Khan, Hafiz gave the Pargana of Shahabad, and relieved of immediate problems then devoted his attention towards the development of his original jagir of Pilibhit which was renamed as Hafizabad. A big palace, Diwan-i-Aam and Diwan-i-Khas and a magnificent congregational mosque were built there. He himself shifted his residence to Bareily.

Meanwhile Safdar Jang having murdered Javed Khan, the king's favourite, was opposed by the Royal troops. On the request of Safdar Jang, Hafiz Rahmat Khan went to help him with 4,000 men but later on retreated on the receipt of an imperial farman. On this occasion the king's agent offered bribes to the Afghans to join the Imperial troops, but all the Afghans except Najib Khan (later on Najibuddaula) with some 2,000 men, declined to accept it.

During the third invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1756. Hafiz Rahmat Khan established good contacts with the Afghan king. He was directed to assist Imad-ud-Mulk in his attempt to realise tribute from Shuja-ud-Daulah Safdar Jang. Through the good offices of Hafiz Rahmat peace was patched up between the rival parties, Safdar Jang having died in 1754 of carbuncle.

In 1759, when the Marahattas attacked Najib-ud-Daulah and besieged him at Shukkartal in Muzaffarnagar district, the latter applied to Hafiz Rahmat Khan for help, to which request the latter readily responded. He advanced towards Shukkartal at the head of a considerable force. Shuja-ud-Daulah was also approached by Hafiz Rahmat Khan for help and he readily responded to the appeal. Some skirmishes took place, but the Marahattas when they heard of Abdali's invasion of the Punjab raised the siege and turned to the Punjab to bar the advance of Ahmad Shah. The Marahattas had in 1758 captured the Punjab upto Attock so that they could claim to be the masters of northern India from 'Cuttak to Attock'. Imad-ud-Mulk in desperation had Alamgir II murdered in Salimgarh where he had been invited to meet a saintly person. Ahmad Shah accompanied

by Najib and Hafiz Rahmat entered Delhi after the dispersal of Marahatta forces.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan during this period had won the esteem and favour of the Afghan King. His place in the Darbar of Ahmad Shah was equal to that of the Chief Minister. He played a distinguished part in bringing about reconciliation between Ahmad Khan Bangash and the Abdali king. He presented Shuja-ud-Daulah before him, and successfully realised tribute from Suraj Mal Jat. A certain amount of unity was thus secured by 1760 to defend the northern India and to check the everrecurring raids of the Marahattas. On 6 June, 1761, the Marahattas were defeated in the Battle of Panipat which for the time being rid the country of the creeping fear of Marahatta atrocities.

Before his departure, Ahmad Shah Abdali granted the high office of Amir-ul-Umara to Najib-ud-Daula. Ahmad Khan Bangash was given the office of Bakhshi and Hafiz Rahmat Khan was appointed Shah's Vakil-ul-Mulk as the agent of the Afghan ruler at the Royal Court of Delhi.[18] After the departure of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Hafiz returned to Bareily and then proceeded to Pilibhit.

Etawah and Shikohabad had been given to Inayat Khan and Dundey Khan by Ahmad Shah Abdali in recognition of their services at Panipat. Hafiz Rahmat Khan despatched Mulla Mohsin Khan for the annexation of Etawah and Shikohabad which were captured after some difficulty. In 1763, when Shuja-ud-Daulah alongwith Shah Alam marched against Ahmad Khan Bangash Hafiz Rahmat Khan played a leading role in bringing about peace between the contending parties.

In 1765, Shuja-ud-Daulah, after his defeat at Buxar went to Hafiz Rahmat Khan at Hasanpur. Both of them went to Farrukhabad to consult Nawab Ahmad Khan on the future course of action. Hafiz and the Nawab of Bangash advised him to avoid further military confrontation with the British but he rejected their advice and proceeded to win over the Marahattas as allies against the British. He was again defeated at Korah and returned to Farrukhabad in humiliation.

Hafiz Rahmnt Khan went to Fathgarh and met Ahmad Khan Bangash and on his invitation visited Farrukhabad. He later met the Emperor at Korah and received *khil'at* from him. His sons and other Afghan chiefs also received suitable gifts. Realising the futility of resistance Shuja-ud-Daulah signed the treaty of Allahabad with the British. The advice of Hafiz Rahmat Khan to Shuja-ud-Daulah to cease hostilities against the English has been criticised as an act of political unwisdom and lack of appreciation of the power politics in northern India. The treaty of Allahabad led to the final elimination of the Rohilas from the political scene and the untold misery which the people of Rohilkhand suffered as a result of it.

In 1770, Etawah and Shikohabad were surrendered to the Marahattas when they again appeared in the north. In the following year the Rohilas suffered an irrepairable loss by the death of Najib-ud-Daulah and Dundey Khan.

After the death of Najib-ud-Daulah, the Marahattas renewed their attack against his son, Zabita Khan near Shukartal, where the Rohilas were defeated and Zabita Khan's family fell into the hands of the enemy. The Rohila chiefs, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Zabita Khan approached the wazir for assistance to fight against the Marahattas. After some negotiations with the advice and assistance of Sir Robert Barker, an agreement for joint action was reached but the Wazir backed out as he had his own designs against the Afghans. The Marahattas crossed the Ganges and gained a decisive victory over the Rohilas, the successful expedition against Rohilkhand by the Marahattas alarmed Shuja-ud-Daulah who now concluded an offensive and defensive treat of alliance with the Rohilas on 5 June 1772. By it Shuja-ud-Daulah undertook to drive the Marahattas out of Rohilkhand while Rahmat Khan promised in return to pay 40 lakhs of rupees. The signing of this treaty proved a tragic event in Rohila history for the non-fulfilment of its conditions by both parties led ultimately to the Rohila war.[19]

At this time when unity amongst the Afghans was most essential, dissensions broke out among their chiefs. The death of Sardar Khan Bakhshi and the rebellion of Inayat Khan further weakened the Rohilas. In July 1772 Zabita Khan joined the Marahattas in order to safeguard his own interest,

Early in 1773, the Marahattas marched towards Ramghat and demanded the payment of rupees 50 lakhs from Hafiz Rahmat Khan and other Rohila chiefs guaranteed to them by Safdar Jang, twenty years earlier. In these circumstances, the English and Shuja-ud-Daulah prepard to help the Rohilas in case they agreed to pay this amount. Shuja-ud-Daulah was all the time soliciting British help against the Rohilas if the demands made by the British against Shuja-ud-Daulah were to be met with. The Btitish decided to join the Wazir. Their combined forces reached Ramghat in March 1773. The Marahattas had returned to Delhi because of heavy rains.

The departure of the Marahattas and the failure of the Rohila chief to pay the amount furnished the long awaited excuse for the annexation of Rohilkhand by the Nawab Wazir of Awadh. Shuja-ud-Daulah prepared to attack Rohilkhand and secured the help of the English. He won over Zabita Khan to his side thus detaching him from the Rohilas and leaving the later without allies.

The combined armies of the Wazir and the English were stationed in early April 1774 near Shahabad. A deputation was sent to Hafiz Rahmat Khan with a copy of the treaty demanding the payment of the sum due from him. In the meantime the allied forces had reached Rohilkhand. The negotiations between Hafiz Rahmat Khan and the Wazir bore no fruit. The Rohila chief failed to comply with the demand of the Wazir which he considered unjust with the result that an armed conflict became imminent. Shuja-ud-Daulah was bent upon destroying the power of the Rohilas and he offered fifty lacks to the British for their military assistance in this regard. Warren Hastings was all too eager to accept the offer and had on April 3, 1773, informed Colebrooke in England of the Wazir's designs against Rohilkhand cronically remarking that "for helping him to conquer the region, Rohilkhand, the British will be recompensated handsomely."[20]

Hastings main object was to secure 40 lakhs to improvethe Company's shattered financial position and to rid Shuja-ud-Daulah of a troublesome neighbour. At Benares, Warren Hastings met Shuja-ud-Daulah to sell Kora and Allahabad to him and to settle the terms for British collaboration with him.

Shuja-ud-Daulah with British assistance forestalled Hafiz Rahmat Khan and captured Etawah. He secured the neutrality of Muzaffar

Khan Bangash and Zabita Khan in the coming struggle and through Najaf Khan obtained permission from Shah Alam to conquer Rohilkhand.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan was completely isolated. He consulted his officers about the course of action to be followed and apprised them of the failure of his negotiations with the English and the Nawab. All his officers advised him to submit to the demand of his enemies which now had risen to a crore of rupees. Diwan Pahar Singh promised to raise the money but Hafiz Rahmat Khan refused to accept the advice of his sardars and the offer of the Diwan in the following words : Whoever desires to follow me may remain with me. Others have full liberty to leave me. I have no fear of enemies, their military superiority and the inferiority of my followers. If I am followed by a single man, even then I will not turn my back in fighting with the Nawab Wazir "[21]

Hafiz Rahmat Khan moved to Aonla where he was joined by a large number of his loyal adherents. From there he advanced to Tanda and then to Mausli to bar Shuja-ud-Daulah's march to Pilibhit on April 2, 1774.

The two armies met on 23rd April 1774 at Katra Miranpur in the district of Shahjahanpur. The Rohilas might have offered better resistance if there were greater unity amongst them. They were routed, and surrendered mainly due to the treachery of their own chiefs who had joined Shuja-ud-Daulah secretly. The Rohila troops were completely defeated and Hafiz Rahmat Khan was struck by a bullet and died fighting.

Sultan Khan, a former servant of the Afghan chief recognised his dead body among the dead soldiers, cut off the head and took it to Shuja-ud-Daulah who rewarded him with 500 rupees. The head sewn to the trunk was later sent to Bareily where Rahmat Khan was buried. In 1775 Rao Pahar Singh started the construction of a mausoleum over his tomb which was completed in 1780 by the Nawab's son, Nawab Zulfiqar Khan. He was sixty seven years of age at the time of his martyrdom. He had fourteen sons, of whom two had died during his life time, besides twelve daughters.

After the complete defeat of the Rohilas at the battle-field of

Katra Miranpur, Shuja-ud-Daulah proceeded to completely ruin Rohilkhand in order to prevent any revival of Afghan power. Squadrons of foot soldiers and horsemen were sent to score the country. They destroyed more than one thousand villages, plundered the terror-stricken people and inflicted on them orgies of bloodshed, plunder and arson. In the words of Mill: "The whole country lay at the mercy of the Wazir and never before probably were the rights of conquests put to such barbarous use. Not only were inhuman depredations let loose upon the wretched inhabitants, but, as the intension of the Wazir, according to what he had previously and repeatedly declared to the English Government, was to exterminate the Rohilas, every one who bore the name of Rohila was either butchered or found his safety in flight and exile."[22]

The advice of Champion to spare the villages and the innocent villagers was ignored by Shuja-ud-Daulah and about a lakh of people were rendered homeless.[23]

Faizullah Khan found refuge in Laldang sixteen miles from Najibabad with the families and children of the Rohila chiefs and the remnant of the army. Pilibhit was captured in April 1774 and given to plunder and rapine. Shuja-ud-Daulah secured booty worth fifty lakhs of rupees. The Nawab next moved to Besauli with the family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan who were subjected to great hardships and humiliation. When Hastings was informed of the excesses committed by Shuja he dismissed to the reports with the heartless remarks that "such trifles always happen in oriental warfare." Col. Champion's letter to Hastings testifies the pathetic condition of the family of Rahmat Khan : "These unhappy captives being driven to the necessity of supplicating and receiving alms from myself and gentlemen of my family to purchase sustenance, their begging for water to drink, their struggle to be first served with it, are scenes too horrible to be expressed."

The Rohila war formed the most important count in the impeachment of Hastings by the Parliament. Burke in his speech delivered on December 1, 1783, condemned the conduct of Hastings thus:

"The sale was that of the whole nation of the Rohilas, which the great salesman, without a pretence of quarrel, and contrary

to his own declared sense of duty and rectitude, sold to the same Shuja-ud-Daula. He sold the people to utter extirpation for £400,000. Faithfully was the bargain performed on our side. Hafiz Rahmat, the most eminent of their chiefs, one of the bravest men of his time, and as famous throughout the East for the elegance of his poetical compositions, as for his courage, was invaded with an army of a hundred thousand men and an English brigade. This man at the head of inferior forces was slain valiantly fighting for his country. His head was cut off and delivered for money to a barbarian. His wife and children, persons of that rank, were seen begging handful of rice through the English camp. This whole nation with inconsiderable exceptions, was slaughtered or banished. The country was laid waste with fire and sword and that land, distinguished above most others, by the cheerful face of paternal Government and protected labour, the chosen seat of cultivation and plenty, is almost throughout the dreary desert covered with rushes and briars and jungles full of wild beasts. The British officer who commanded in the delivery of the people thus sold like sheep to the butcher felt some compunction at his employment. He represented the enormous excesses to the President of Bengal, for which he received a severe reprimand from the civil Governor."[25]

Lord Macaulay has openly and bluntly condemned Hastings:

" Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilkhand. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine and fever haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of men, to whom an English and Christian Government had for shameful lucre, sold their substance and their blood and the honour of their wives and daughters."[26]

J. Clark wrote: "There is probably not another instance on record where a civilized power entered into war with the avowed object of destroying a people with whom it had no quarrel".[27]

Hafiz Rahmat Khan was a deeply religious man who in accordance with the traditions of his family led a 'life of piety and moral purity.'

He disliked ostentation, dressed in simple cloth, took no intoxicating drugs and scrupulously performed the religious duties prescribed by his religion. Generous, humane and liberal-minded, he watched over the welfare of his subjects in a spirit or service and dedication to duty. He was fond of the company of men of learning and piety. He opened schools both for boys and girls and made liberal grants for the promotion of education. His Hindu subjects were protected and honoured by him and religious difference did not interfere with the administration. Several Hindu officers and soldiers served him with rare loyalty. Raja Man Rai and Diwan Pahar Singh filled the post of Diwan. Long after his death he was remembered with reverence and esteem for his justice, magnanimity and benevolence. Cool-headed, clear sighted, he was a born learder of men and/but for the overwhelming combination of powers against him he would have made Rohilkhand a strong well-governed state and saved Awadh and Delhi from the tragedy that overtook these state within less than three decades.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan was not only a soldier, statesman and administrator but a man of letters. He wrote poetry both in Persian and Pashto but these works have been lost. He had a well filled library which was carried off by Shuja-ud-Daulah in 40 boxes. According to Dr. Sprenger "The number of volumes in this collection is very great and among them are Pushto works written with great care for the brave and learned Rohila chiefs. The Lucknow library was dispersed or destroyed during the Mutiny of 1857, but a considerable number of the books that it contained have from time to time been recovered."[31] Of his prose books two have survived, *Khulasatul Ansab* and *Tawarikh-e-Rahmat Khan*. The latter was written in Pashto and later translated into Persian in 1772.

> "Thus died one of the noblest soldiers and statesmen of India of the eighteenth century, a victim of the ambitions of Shuja-ud-Daulah and Warren Hastings deserted in his hour of need by his erstwhile friends, kinsmen and compatriots"[32] In the words of Hamilton, "His personal bravery and firmness in the hour of danger would have enabled the Rohilas to support themselves with success against all foreign enemies, and to have protected their dominion from the many calamities in which it had been

involved for several years, had he been properly supported by his colleagues, and it was this spirit that determined him, on the failure of every other recourse to prefer an honourable death to an inglorious submission."[33]

Mustajab Khan thus sums up the character of his father . . . . .

"The liberality of Hafiz Rehmat was evinced in numberless instances. Throughout his dominions he abolished taxes of every kind whether on exports or imports, though these imports had yielded many lakhs of rupees annually nor would he revive this odious demand, even when his finances were at their lowest ebb. In his various wars, the widows of those who fell in action were supported to affluence, and the sons received the pay of their deceased parents, till they were of an age to be enrolled among his troops. During the Government of Ullee Mohammad Khan, all the rent-free lands formerly granted to learned and pious men, or to indigent families, had been resumed and a small annual payment substituted; the whole of these lands were restored by Hafiz, and numberless new pensions were granted, in conferring which obligations, Hafiz would regret his inability to make the amount larger, and by his manner appeared to be rather receiving than conferring a favour."[34]

THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF RAMPUR

Accession of Faizullah Khan.

After the death of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the eldest son of Ali Muhammad Khan, Faizullah Khan (b. 1733) was acknowledged as the leader of the Afghans. He had escaped and sought sanctuary at Laldhag beyond the borders of Rohilkhand. The joint forces of the Wazir and the English felt the danger of Faizullah Khan's organizing resistance against them to recover his position. Therefore, they marched against him in order to crush any such movement. After prolonged negotiations a treaty was signed between the victors and the vanquished on 7th October 1774. Faizullah Khan was permitted to retain the territory formerly allotted to him by his father in Rohilkhand, alongwith the district of Rampur. According to

another article of the treaty he was not permitted to recruit more than 5,000 men in his service and was not to enter into correspondence with any power excepting the Wazir and the English. Immediately after the peace settlement, the allied forces left Rohilkhand and Faizullah Khan marched towards Rampur with his 5,000 men. The treaty was renewed under British guarantee in 1778.

New Agreement with the new Wazir, 1783.

After the death of Shuja-ud-Daulah, his successor, Asif-ud-Daulah, could not establish an effective administration in Awadh and the newly acquired territories in Rohilkhand. Faizullah administered Rampur well. Faizullah Khan is credited with having founded the city of Rampur in 1775, but the tradition is not correct. Faizullah first intended to rename it as Faizabad and then named it as Mustafabad and then Rampur[29] A large number of learned men dispersed from Delhi and other towns came and settled in Rampur. He was a soldier, a statesman, and an administrator and was unreservedly respected for his piety. A new agreement was made in 1783[30] between the new Wazir and the Rohila chief by which Faizullah Khan was exempted from the payment of 15 lakhs of rupees and was released from other obligations placed on him by Shuja-ud-Daulah.

Faizullah Khan died on 18 July, 1794 after a prosperous reign of nearly 20 years and was succeeded by his eldest son, Muhammad Ali Khan. He soon became unpopular due to his rash temper and disregard of all propriety in dealing with his officers and his subjects. His growing unpopularity led to a conspiracy against him headed by his brother Ghulam Muhammad and other Afghan chiefs. Muhammad Ali was captured and taken to the fortress of Dangaipur and executed.

Ghulam Muhammad was nor raised to the *gaddi* but he did not long enjoy the fruits of the fratricideal action. The English considered him a usurper and they lent a Brigade to Asaf-ud-Daulah to depose Ghulam Muhammad and place Ahmad Ali Khan, the infant son of Muhammad Ali, on the throne. Sir Ralph Abercombie was despatched at the head of a brigade against him. Learning about the advance of the English, Ghulam Muhammad marched his troops to Bareily and opened an attack on the English army on 24 October,

1794. Ghulam Muhammad won an initial success, but shortly afterwards in another engagement he was defeated and the Rohilas suffered heavily. Ghulam Muhammad was banished to Madras. The Rampur state was restored to the son of Muhammad Ali, then 7 years old, with Nasrullah Khan, his maternal uncle, as regent for a term of 12 years by a treaty signed on November 29, 1794. By it lands yielding a revenue of ten lakhs a year were assigned to the new ruler and the rest of the territory was taken over by the Wazir. The treaty was confirmed on December 13, 1794.

The Nawab Wazir ceded the province to the British Government in 1801, but this did not affect the state and rights of the Nawab. The first public disturbance occurred in Rohilkhand when the well know Rohila chief, Amir Khan on the invitation of Holkar crossed the Ganges to ravage Rohilkhand but he was repulsed. After this isolated incident Rohilkhand remained quiet for another ten years. Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan was simple in his habits and extremely popular with the common people owing to his generosity. He died in 1840.

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CHAPTER XIII

Bengal After Mir Jafar

MIR QASIM 1760—1763—BATTLE OF BUXUR—THE GRANT OF DIWANI

Mir Qasim 1760—1763

Mir Qasim ascended the *masnad* on October 20, 1760. He is reported to have received "splendid ovation" from the people of Murshidabad but how far it was genuine it is difficult to say. Mir Qasim came of a noble Persian family. His father Mir Razi Khan[1] was an imperial *mansabdar* and held a *jagir* in Bengal. His grandfather Imtiaz Khan (poetic surname Khalis) had served for sometime as Diwan of Patna.[2] He received good education and developed a taste for mathematics and astrology in which subjects he attained commendable proficiency. He was married to Fatima Begum, daughter of Mir Jafar and after the latter's accession to the *masnad* he began to take lively but sinister interest in political affairs. After the defeat of Siraj-ud-Daulah at the battle of Plassey Mir Qasim was commissioned to pursue the unfortunate Prince. His treatment of Siraj-ud-Daulah and the ladies of his household who had accompanied the Prince in his flight was cruel, vindictive and unchivalrous. Mir Qasim was appointed governor of Rangpur. He was put in command of several military operations against prince Ali Gauhar and the Marahattas but failed to achieve any military distinction. After the accidental death of Miran, the son of Mir Jafar, Mir Qasim had hoped to be nominated successor to Mir Jafar, but the latter who distrusted his son-in-law, appointed Mir Saidu, the infant son of Miran, as heir apparent with Raj Ballabh as his Diwan. Frustrated and disillusioned he began his intrigues wth the English who had found making and unmaking of Nawabs and Rajas a profitable business both for the Company and its officers. The revolution of 1760 at Murshidabad opened a new leaf in the career of Mir Qasim and the fortunes of the East India Company.

Mir Qasim was faced on his accession with serious financial difficulties. His first task, therefore, was to find money to pay off the arrears of the army and satisfy the demands of the Company to which he had committed himself in his eagerness to secure the nawabship. As a first step he called upon the officers of the preceding government to submit accounts. Private persons even were not spared. These measures, sometimes harsh and unjust, brought him considerable wealth and won him the approval of the Governor, Vansittart who reported to the Select Committee that "the Nawab applied with great diligence to the regulation of his affairs, and behaves so as to gain the affection of the people". He borrowed large sums from the Seths to meet the demands of his creditors. He cut down his personal expenses as well as the expenditure on, "various ceremonials and luxuries of the palace."[3]

Mir Jafar's allowance of Rs. 25,000 was cut down to Rs. 15,000. He re-employed or continued in his service some of the officers of the time of Alivardi, his choice of officers depending not so much on their ability as their loyalty to his interests.

Mir Qasim now turned his attention against rebellious *zamindars* of whom the most dangerous appeared to be Asadzaman Khan, Raja of Bhirbheum. An army supported by an English contingent was sent against him. The Raja offered stout resistance but was defeated. He was submitted to Mir Qasim and was made to pay a huge indemnity.

Mir Qasim now decided to leave for Patna where the presence of Prince Ali Gauhar on one hand and the constant wrangles between Ramnarain and Rajballabh had led to administrative confusion. Prince Ali Gauhar had been defeated by Carnac on 15th January 1761 and Ali Gauhar in his anxiety to win over the English to his side opened negotiations with them and was escorted to Patna by Carnac. Mir Qasim was upset by the new alliance. He moved to Patna and was with difficulty persuaded to pay his respects to the *shahzada*. This he did, paid the customary *nazr* and contributed to the expenses of the *shahzada* but all the time insisting that the *shahzada* should leave Bihar and that the English should not recognize him as Emperor of Delhi. The Nawab agreed to pay Rs. 24 lakhs annually as tribute in the hope that he would receive a *sanad* confirming him in his

subahdari. The Emperor left Patna on 5th June, after conferring upon Mir Qasim a *mansab* of 7,000 and the title of Nawab Ali Jah Nazim-ul-Mulk Imtiaz-ud-Daulah Qasim Ali Khan Nusrat Jang.

Ramnarain, the governor of Bihar, had failed to submit accounts for three years regarding the *subah* of Bihar or pay other amounts due from him. In this he was encouraged by the English officers and he paid no heed to the demands of the Nawab. Carnac who was hostile to Mir Qasim had been advised by the Select Committee at Calcutta "to protect Ramnarain against all violence and injustice that may be offered to his person, honour or fortune". The English, however, were to assure payment of revenue to the Nawab as it was in their interest that the Nawab should have sufficient money so that they could "dig deeper" into his coffers. According to Carnac "Ramnarain, the *Naib* (or deputy governor) of the Patna province, had three years accounts of his administration to settle, to avoid which, he made use of every shift and artifice that could be invented, and so effectually screened himself under the protection of the Colonel and Major, that for four months together not a single explanation could be had from him."[4]

The Nawab justly complained that he had no power in any affair of the government and that he remained wearied out and involved in vexatious interference in his domestic affairs. Colonel Coote insisted on the employment of persons to important posts, persons openly hostile to the Nawab. In his impotent rage he wrote to Vansittart, "My shame and dishonour are completed and I have no one to complain to but you". He was slighted, ignored and ill-treated. McGuire, Chief of Patna Factory, bears testimony to the sad and miserable plight of the Nawab and the insulting treatment meted out to him both by Carnac and Colonel Coote. "If you find yourself unable to carry the Nabob through his present difficulties let the Rajah be declared *subah*, and let this miserable great man return inglorious, disgraced and despised to Moorshedabad, there to enjoy a single day of quiet to which he had been an entire stranger ever since his arrival here."[5]

He was deprived of his legitimate rights to run the government and reduced to the position of a figurehead. The monopolisation of the internal trade of Bengal by Company's servants and the complete

control of production and distribution of raw and manufactured goods made his position untenable and wretched. In his letter to Vansittart, dated 26th March 1762, he complained : "The cause of the country's not being in my hands is this, that from the factory of Calcutta to Cossimbuzar, Patna and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their *gomashtas*, officers and agents in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, *zamindars* and *taalookdars*, and setting up the Company's colours, allow no power to my officers. And besides this, the *gomashtas* and other servants in every district, in every gunge (gunj) *perganah* and village, carry on trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, betelenut, and other things, and every man with a Company's *dustuck* in his hand, regards himself as not less than the Company. In this case I never can have any authority as long as I live."[6]

The same complaint was voiced in a letter written in May 1762, "Your gentlemen . . . . . plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants, with a resolution to expose the government to contempt and from the borders of Hindustan to Calcutta make it their business to expose me to scorn. In every *perganah* and every village, they have established ten or twenty new factories, and setting up the colors, and showing the *dustucks* of the Company, they use their utmost endeavours to oppress the reiats, (*royats*) merchants, and other people of the country. The Englishmen . . . bring shame and disgrace upon my people, holding themselves in readiness to beat and abuse them . . . . They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the reiats, merchants, & c. for a fourth part of their value . . . by means of these oppressions, and my being deprived of my duties, I suffer a yearly (loss) of nearly twenty five lakhs of rupees. In this case, how can I keep clear of debts ? How can I provide for the payment of my tribute to the king, and for the expenses of my army and my household? . . . . . And every one of these (The Company's) *gomashtas* has such a power, that he imprisons . . . (my) collector, and deprives him of all authority whenever he pleases."[7]

The artisans as well the cultivators were subjected to exactions in the form of presents, they were blackmailed and their goods purchased at low prices arbitrarily fixed by the *gomashtas*. The villages were deserted as that was the only means to escape maltreatment and cruel

harassment by the *gomashtas* of the Company. Hastings and several other officers were cognizant of all these practices were fully alive to the consequences of such a policy but the warnings were unheeded. At the instance of Vansittart who had been commissioned by the Board to negotiate with the Nawab and prevent a rupture, a settlement was arrived at by both parties agreeing to levy a duty of nine per cent. "on the prime cost" but Regulations made under it were stoutly resisted and defied by the English merchants and with impunity by other officers. In desparation Mir Qasim took the fateful decision, which cost him his Nawabship, to abolish all duties whatever in his dominions in order to end the disputes with the English and do away with the discriminatory concessions which had impoverished the government and ruined his subjects. So distressed was he and so conscious of his helplessness to mend matters that he offered to allow the English to replace him in the Nawabship with a man of their own choice. He had a superstitious premonition that now that he had been a Nawab for three years a revolution was imminent in view of the previous practice of the British just as Mir Jafar had been removed after three years. The following extracts from some of the letters written by the Nawab to the English reveal the state of his mind and his utter helplessness, frustration and desperation.

> "I can never approve of my people and merchants being distressed, my country oppressed, myself despised, and subjected to daily insults, and my officers and servants ill-treated . . . Mr. Ellis, for these two years past has been endeavouring all in his power to hurt my affairs, and make me appear little in the eyes of the world nay, (he) is at this time taking pains daily to involve me in trouble, parading his companies of sepoys to provoke me, and omitting no opportunity of deprecating me both in this my own country, and to Shuja-ud-Dowla and other great men at Court, sending all whatever he can devise to my discredit by means of Shitab Roy to Shuja-ud-Dowla and saying also whatever comes uppermost in his mind to my prejudice in public assemblies."[8]

"Be pleased, therefore, to set me free from the uneasiness of such

an administration and set up a person for conducting it, whom the council may better approve. Full well I know, that they will both condemn me and injure your good name, and bring this about at last. Why do they wait for a charge against me? It is not the part of honest men, to bring an unjust charge against anyone, with a view to compass other designs, it is better that you do it at this time."[9]

"My reputation and honour are dearer to me than life. If you are inclined to let friendship subsist between us, you ought to lay aside these disturbances and altercations, which must produce a rupture, and if you are inclined to break with me, let me know it immediately, that I may have nothing further to do with these things, for I can bear them no longer."[10]

"As three years of my being Nazim are almost expired, and you have never had any pretence, by any deviation on my part, therefore, with a view to effect a change, and turn me out, you have been raising all these disputes and altercations, and have written to your *gomashtas* to commit disturbances and ravages in my country, and have sent troops, to beat, bind, confine, and carry off my officers, expecting that I would accordingly make some stir, and you might be furnished with a pretence against me."[11]

Whether the English actually as a matter of policy intended to displace a Nawab every three years difficult to say. Their past conduct in Bengal and the Deccan was sufficient to make Mir Qasim suspect their *bona fides* and his determination to stand for his rights made an accom modation with the English and their present mood difficult if not impossible. Mir Qasim's fear of another revolution in Bengal were amply justified by his recent experiences. The high-handedness of the English merchants and the support they received from the Calcutta Council had not only deprived the Nawab of his legitimate income from the Custom duties but ruined indigenous trade and industry and made their *zamindars* and other officers of the Nawab

contimacious and rebellious. Vansittart's advice to avoid a war which he considered impolitic as well as unjust went unheeded. The Council decided to send Mr. Amyatt to see the Nawab and present Company's demands to him on the acceptance of which would depend his continuation as the Nawab. The latter was prepared to accept some of them ; others he considered unjust. He bluntly told Amyatt and Hay : "At present it seems as that "you keep neither promise nor treaty for a single year, nay, a month or a day. Now that you have written and brought me these demands, what article of them rests upon me, that you require a public writing of me? I have not, by any means, broken my word, ye receded from your promise, and would again make a new treaty and agreement."[12]

"In disgust and sheer helplessness he gave them a blank paper to write their conditions on which he would accept provided the English forces were withdrawn from Patna. This the English refused to do and the communications broke down. On 24 June, Ellis whose hostility to Mir Qasim was well-known attacked the Nawab's fort in the dead of night and took possession of the fort and the city, which they plundered. In the words of Colonel Malleson it was a "great victory over men who had not fought."[13]

This was the proverbial last straw on the camel's back and the Nawab retaliated by recapturing the fort and taking a large number of prisoners. He then wrote a letter of protest against the high-handed action of Mr. Ellis who in his words had entered the fort like a night robber and plundered the bazar and all the merchants and inhabitants of the city. He demanded damages for the injury done to his subjects.

> "You gentlemen are wonderful friends having made a treaty, to which you pledged the name of Jesus Christ, you took from me a country, to pay the expenses of your army, with the condition, that your troops should always attend me, and promote my affairs, in effect, you keep up a force for my destruction."[14]

The English refused to negotiate and resisted to the simple but

well tried expedient of deposing Mir Qasim and proclaiming Mir Jafar as Nawab in Murshidabad. Determined to be the master in his own country and war became inevitable. Mir Qasim had no genius for war, was without any competent and seasoned military commanders, and was surrounded by faithless officers. He was defeated at the battles of Katwa, Gheria, and Ushnananda and from Mongis he fled to Patna. Major Adams was sent against Mir Qasim in the first week of July with 850 Europeans and 1,500 Indian soldiers. He was joined by Mir Jafar on the way and the combined army's strength now was 1,000 Europeans and 4,000 Indians. The Nawab resisted the enemy as best as he could but Patna was captured on 6 November and the Nawab fled to Awadh. In impotent rage he had about fifty Englishmen executed, the sole survivor being one Fullarton to whom Mir Jafar was personally known. This was a senseless act of cruelty by a person "who had never shown any mark of cruel desposition so far". Inspite of the fact that the English had used every pretext to "trample upon his government to seize his officers to insult them with personal threats . . . . . the Nawab had shown considerable patience and restraint." The war was thrust on him and inspite of the bravery and fidality of his soldiers and officers 'rarely experienced' in native troops, he was worsted. Vansittart's comments on this act of desperation were a condemnation of the unjust high-handed action of his government. Mir Qasim had refused to play the regal mute and paid the penalty for this audacity.

Mir Jafar was now reinstalled as the Nawab of Bengal and presented with a new treaty by the English repeating the demands which Mir Qasim had declined to concede and which had been the source of conflict with the Nawab of Bengal since 1757. Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings objected to the new treaty which they considered manifestly unjust and inconsistent with the original agreement of 1757 which they had entered into with Mir Jafar but they were overruled. When Mir Jafar was presented with the new treaty he made three amendments which the Calcutta Council accepted. But the amendments which the Calcutta Council accepted did not change the fundamental position—the Company as the *de facto* sovereign entitled to extensive exploitation of the country and the

puppet Nawab as *de jure* sovereign, an impotent silent spectator of the ruination of his country and his subjects. The new treaty did nothing to ease the situation or curb the oppressive and insolent behaviour of the English merchants or their *gomashtas*. Mir Jafar was forced to complain that he could not carry on the government under the terms of the treaty and threatened to abolish all duties as his predecessor had done. The council decided to placate the Nawab by resolving to give up inland trade except in the case of Patna and Kasimbazar but the resolution was not implemented with the result that inland trade continued "with its painful accompaniments". To this were added the demands regarding payment of Rs. 30 lakhs to defray the expenses of the war against Mir Qasim, to compensate the merchants for the losses suffered by them to the tune of 48 lakhs, and payment of 25 lakhs to the army. All his expstulations and entreaties for the reduction of the demand fell on deaf ears. Mir Jafar, addicted to opium and suffering from leprosy, died in February 1765, his death having been hastened by the unseemly importunity with which the English at Calcutta pressed their private claims against Phulwaree, the eldest son of Mir Jafar by Munni Begum. Mir Jafar has the distinction of being listed with Mir Sadiq of Mysore as a traitor to his country.

The second son of Mir Jafar, Najm-ud-Daulah was now placed on the *masnad*. He signed and had to enter into a new treaty with the English Nawab-makers. Najm-ud-Daulah inherited his father's commitments and suffered all the humiliations which his father had submitted to. Muhammad Raza Khan, deputy Nawab of Dacca was sent to Murshidabad as the Deputy of the Nawab without the latter's knowledge or approval. Muhammad Raza Khan had been in arrears and the new Nawab's protest against his appointment was rejected. The protest against the appointment of Raja Durlab Ram was however accepted. A formal treaty was concluded on 25 February 1765. The principal men of Fort William extracted in presents, the very modest sum according to their standards, of Rs. 14 lakhs.

The Battle of Buxur

Mir Qasim had pinned his hope now on receiving adequate assistance from Shuja-ud-Daulah and the Emperor who was in Awadh. But Shuja-ud-Daulah was a cool calculating man and though he had his

own grievances against the English he had not much liking for Mir Qasim who had on an earlier occasion advised the English to turn down Shuja-ud-Daulah's request for military assistance against the Hindu Chiefs of Bundhelkhand. Shuja-ud-Daulah had in August 1763 offered to help the English against Mir Qasim but his offer was not accepted. The Nawab had sent his envoy, Mirza Shams-ud-Din with considerable amount of money for the Nawab Wazir, the Emperor and other officers of State. The money was received without any promise of help in return. The English called upon Shuja-ud-Daulah to deliver Mir Qasim to them or at least deprive him of means of fighting the English. Mir Jafar sent a petition requesting recognition of his appointment as Nawab. The petition was accompanied by a *nazrana* of 5 lakhs and a promise to pay the annual tribute to the Emperor from Bengal. Shitab Rai a former Diwan of Bihar was all the time working against Mir Qasim at the Court of Awadh but the English were perturbed by Mir Jafar's anxiety to have the important *farman* confirming him in his post. Mir Qasim arrived in Allahabad in January 1764. He was received with summary cordiality. Shuja-ud-Daulah was then preoccupied with his intended expedition against Hundupati and Mir Qasim, to oblige him and thus ensure his support against the English, offered to place his army at the disposal of Shuja and personally lead the expedition against Bundhelkhand. Mir Qasim successfully concluded the mission but was astonished to find on his return that the imperial *sanad* had been sent to Mir Jafar. Mir Qasim renewed his request for Shuja's support and the latter finally agreed to the proposal on Mir Qasim's promise to cede Bihar and its treasures to Shuja and to pay '30 million in cash on the successful conclusion, and defray the expenses of the Awadh army during the campaign. Shitab Roy kept the English well informed of what was happening in Awadh.

The combined army marched into Bihar without any opposition. From his camp in Bihar Shuja-ud-Daulah sent an ultimation to the Governor and Council of Calcutta. "Former kings of Hindustan by exempting the English Company from duties, granting them different settlements and assisting them in all their affairs, bestowed greater kindness and honour upon them than either upon the country's merchants or any other Europeans. Moreover, of late His Majesty

had graciously conferred on you higher titles and dignities than was proper, and jagheers and other favours. Since notwithstanding these various favours which have been shown you, you have interfered in the King's country, possessed yourself of districts belonging to the Government, such as Burdawon and Chittagong etc. and turned out and established Nabobs at pleasure without the consent of the Imperial Court. Since you have imprisoned dependents of the Court, and exposed the Government of the King of Kings to contempt and dishonour, since you have ruined the trade of the merchants of the country, granted protection to the King's servants, injured the revenues of the Imperial Court and crushed the inhabitants by your acts of violence and oppression, and since you are continually sending fresh people from Calcutta and invading different parts of the royal dominions, and have even plundered several villages and *purganas* belonging to the province of Illahbad (Allahabad), to what can all these your proceedings be attributed but to an absolute disregard for the Court and wicked design of seizing the country for yourself. If you have behaved in this manner in consequence of your King's commands or the Company's direction, be pleased to acquaint me of the particulars thereof that I may show a suitable resentment. But if these disturbances have arisen from your own improper desires, desist from such behaviour in future, interfere not in the affairs of the Government, withdraw your people from every part and send them to their own country, carry on the Company's trade as formerly, and confine yourselves to commercial affairs. In this case the imperial Court will more than ever assist you in your business and confer its favours upon you. Send hither some person of distinction as your *vackeel* to inform me properly of all circumstances that I may act accordingly. If (which God forbid) you are haughty and disobedient, the heads of the disturbers shall be devoured by the sword of justice, and you will feel the weight of His Majesty's displeasure which is the type of the wrath of God, nor will any submission or acknowledgements of your neglect hereafter avail you. As your Company has of old been supported by the royal favour, I have, therefore, wrote to you. You will act as you may think advisable."[15]

The ultimatum was taken lightly by the English as it did not come from the Emperor but the Nawab of Awadh who by helping Mir

Qasim was an abettor and a partner of him. The English were now determined to do everything to rescue the king from the bondage in which according to them the Nawab had detained him. Their case was strengthened by the fact that Mir Jafar had been recognised by the Emperor as Nawab of Bengal and Shah Alam had secretly informed the British that he was an unwilling partner in the coalition against the English.

Shuja-ud-Daulah encamped at Phulwari seven miles west of Patna, Major Carnac having failed to prevent his march into Bihar. A battle was fought at Panch Pahari on 3 May 1764. After initial successes Shuja was forced to retire to Buxur. Several months were spent in negotiations for peace which did not materialise. Hector Munro, who had replaced Carnac succeeded in seducing two Mughul officers, Asad Khan and Zain-ul-Abidin, who deserted the Nawab and joined the English. Ghulam Hussain Khan, the author of *Seir-ul-Mutakhirin*[16] and his father also deserted Shitab Roy and his son Kalyan Singh were all along actively working against Shuja while Beni Bahadur, his minister was wavering and inert and in the end he and Balwant Singh of Benares played false to Shuja. The latter now fell out with Mir Qasim who was taken a prisoner, divested of all his wealth and asked to go wherever he liked. Munro succeeded in securing Rohtasgarh from Sabumal, the governor of the fort upon certain conditions none of which was observed.[17] After Mir Qasim left Awadh, Shuja started making overtures for peace but demanded the cession of Bihar to him.

The English now decided to prosecute the war with vigour. Mir Jafar was called upon to pay Rs. 40 lakhs as compensation to the merchants and 5 lakhs monthly for the period of war. Munro left Patna on 9 October 1764. On 23 October the two armies met at Buxur. The Nawab's armies were defeated with a loss of 6,000 men as against 300 of the English of which Europeans were only 32. As at Plassey so at many other battles it were the Indian soldiers trained by English officers who revolted against their former Indian masters and betrayed their own people. These Indian soldiers for filthy lucre served the foreigners. That so many Indian soldiers joined the Europeans is a sad commentary on the social and economic inequities they had suffered under their own ruling class. Bihar was cleared

of Shuja's troops. The English pressed now for the delivery of the person of Mir Qasim and cession of a part of Awadh territory as the price of peace. Munro was further instructed to separate the Emperor from Shuja and in his military operation to conciliate the people in order to restore their confidence. The Rajah of Benares welcomed the English army, and the Emperor chafing under the control of his Wazir promised to do all he could to further the cause of the English. Shuja's efforts to conciliate the English failed and there followed more skirmishes with the English. On 3 December 1764, the fort of Chunar was captured by the English after more loss of life there than they had suffered at Buxur. Shuja now left Allahabad for Benares where the Emperor was in residence. He failed to capture this strategic town and fled towards Jaunpore, but failed to prevent the English from capturing it on 20 January 1765. Chunar and Allahabad were captured on 8 February 1765. From Jaunpore Shuja went to Rohilkhand while the English captured Lucknow, lodged the Emperor in the fort of Allahabad and were now for all practical purposes in possession of Awadh virtually as rulers.

Shuja-ud-Dulah's frantic efforts to secure assistance for the reconquest of Awadh proved futile and as a last resort he turned to Malhar Rao Holkar who agreed to give him the military assistance desired by him. In the third week of April 1765, Shuja-ud-Daulah captured Karra.[18] But the alliance with the Marahattas was short-lived. The English defeated the Marahattas at Kalpi and Shuja-ud-Daulah, thoroughly beaten and humbled, submitted to the English who reinstated him as the Nawab of Awadh with a view to utilising this country as a bulwark against the invasions af the Marahattas or of the Afghans.[19]

Clive returned to India in April 1765. He was happy to hear how the area of English influence had been extended during his absence. He was determined to consolidate English position in Bengal and project English influence beyond it. "We must indeed" wrote he, "become the Nabobs ourselves, in fact, if not in name, perhaps totally so without disguise". On his arrival in Bengal he proceeded first to implement the orders of the Directors prohibiting the Company's

servants from accepting, directly or indirectly, from the Indian princes any grant of land, rents or territories, or any present whatever, exceeding the value of four thousand rupees, without the consent of the Court of Directors.[20]

This was a difficult order to enforce particularly by Clive because of his own shady dealings with the Indian chiefs after 1757. To compensate the servants of the Company for the loss of trade Clive founded the society for Trade in 1765 for carrying on trade in salt, betelnuts, and tobacco. "This fascinating institution was nothing else but a sort of well-organized cooperative society by means of which even the private plundering of the Company's servants was put upon a collective instead of an individual basis. For by means of this 'co-op' a trade which was so one-sided as to be very little different from robbery, was in future conducted collectively on behalf of both the British civilians and the British soldiers of the Company's establishments in Bengal."[21] The share of the Society being held by the senior servants of the Company. This monopoly, according to Bolts, was a 'monopoly the most cruel in its nature, and most destructive, in its consequences to the Company's affairs in Bengal, all that have of late been established there. Perhaps it stands unparalleled in the history of any government that ever existed on earth, considered as a public act."[22]

Clive's measures drove "the wretched province all the more remorselessly into ruin".

The Grant of Diwani

Clive now proceeded to take necessary steps to make the Company "Nawab in fact if not in name". He went to Allahabad and met the Emperor on 9 August. He requested the Emperor for the grant of *Diwani* for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and to confirm Najm-ud-Daulah as the Nawab of these provinces. In return the Emperor was to receive 26 lakhs annually as tribute from Bengal,[23] and the provinces of Allahabad and Karra yielding an annual tribute of 26 lakhs. The Emperor granted the request on 12 August 1765. The following *firman* was issued :

> "At this happy time our royal *firman* indispensably requiring obedience, is issued, that whereas, in consideration of the

attachment and services of the high and mighty the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishes, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the *Diwani* of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa . . . as a free gift and *altamaga,* without the association of any other person . . . it is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty six lacs of rupees a year for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from Najm-ud-Daulah Bahadur, and regularly remit the same to the royal *Sarkar,* and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army, for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, etc. we have granted them whatsoever may remain out of the revenue of the said Provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the royal *Sarkar,* and providing for the expenses of the *Nizamat.* It is requisite that our royal descendants, the wairs, the bestowers of dignity, the *Omras* high in ranks, the great officers etc. . . . leave the said office in possession of the said Company from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking up on them to be assured from dismissal or removal, they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the *Diwani* and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subjects to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom."

Najm-ud-Daulah by a separate treaty signed on 20 September was assigned Rupees 53,86,131 (*sic*) as an allowance for his personal expenses and the expenses of maintaining the *Nizamat.* Shitab *Roy* was appointed *naib diwan* of Bihar and Raza Khan of Murshidabad in association with Raja Durlabh Ram and Jasarat Khan at Dacca.

Mir Kazim Khan, a Persian by birth, was appointed governor of Bihar. He fell under the influence of a Hindu officer and committed some "improper actions". Clive pensioned him off. He went to reside in Rajmahal and Rajah Brijnarain was appointed in his place. A

separate treaty was signed with Shuja-ud-Daulah on 16 August—a treaty, harsh and inequitable:

"(1) A perpetual and universal peace, sincere friendship, and firm union "was to be established between Shuja-ud-Daulah and his heirs", Najm-ud-Daulah and the English East India Company.

(2) Assistance was to be rendered to Shuja in case of invasion by any enemy "so far as may be consistent with their own security."

Shuja was to render similar assistance to the other two parties in case of war. While Shuja was bound to defray the expenses of military assistance rendered to him, no such obligation was imposed on the two other parties.

(3) Shuja pledged never to entertain or receive Qasim Ali Khan, the late Subahdar of Bengal or Sombre, the assassin of the English, nor to admit any of the European deserters within his dominions or give protection to them.

(4) The King Shah Alam was to remain in full possession of Kora and such part of the Province of Allahabad as his royal domain, for the support of his dignity and expenses.

(5) Balwant Singh was to be continued in the *zamindari* of Benares, Ghazipur and all those districts he had possessed at the time he had joined the late Nawab Jafar Ali Khan and the English on the condition of his paying the same revenue as heretofore.

(6) Shuja was to pay the English Company fifty lacs of rupees and to allow the English Company to carry on trade, duty free, throughout the whole of his dominions.

(7) Complete amnesty was to be granted to those persons who had assisted the English during the course of the latter war. They were to be foregiven, and in no ways molested for the same.

(8) As soon as this treaty was executed, the English forces were to be withdrawn from the dominions of His Highness, excepting such as may be necessary for the garrison of Chunar, or for the defence and protection of the King in the city of Allahabad, if His Majesty should require a force for that purposes."

"This important business was settled without hesitation or argument, as easily as the purchase of an ass or any other animal, without envoys either to the King of England or the Company".[24] Clive returned to Europe soon after.

Last Days of Mir Qasim

Mir Qasim had been kept in captivity by Shuja-ud-Daulah soon after his arrival and failure to accept the terms of his host. After the latter's defeat he was set free and provided with a female elephant that limped, and it was in "such a carriage that Mir Qasim Khan made his escape." He was still not out of danger. The English insisted on the surrender of Mir Qasim and Sumroo before entering into any negotiations for peace with Shuja-ud-Daulah. Sumro had escaped but Beni Bahadur, the Minister for Shuja, offered to pursue and recapture Mir Qasim. The latter was informed of this by his faithful friend Ali Ibrahim Khan and Mir Qasim hastily collected his family and went to Bareilly. He was well received by the Rohillas. His suspicious nature and shiftiness lost him a number of his adherents. He left Rohilkhand, went to the Raja of Gohand and then to Rajputana. His family settled down in a town between Akbarabad and Delhi. He died in Delhi of dropsy several years later in utmost poverty and distress. All his appeals and attempts to secure the help of the Rohillas, of Ghazi-ud-Din, the Nizam and the Marahattas and Ahmad Shah Abdali came to nothing.

Mir Qasim had wandered about for 12 years. In March 1776 he wrote to Hastings seeking English protection and appealed to his justice "to purge him of the imputations thrown on him by other gentlemen". Failing to receive a reply he wrote in August to Shah Alam seeking his protection and requesting him to intercede with the English on his behalf. He wrote to Hastings again in August but his letters were ignored.

The depth of his despondency and despair was pitiable and may be gauged from his last application to Hastings written on August 29. Mir Qasim expresses the desire to meet Hastings and prays to God that his heart would soften towards him. According to Mir Qasim it was the Governor-General (rather the English) who was responsible for all his misery and destruction. He expresses his surprise that the English were misled by interested persons and ignored the dictates of justice. He prayed for forgiveness and promised to strive hard to please them in future. He intended to return to his home and then proceed by sea to the holy places. Mir Qasim further expressed his surprise that Mir Jafar with all his chicanery and "wretchery" should have won the goodwill of Lord Clive.[25]

Mir Qasim after Ali Vardi Khan was the ablest Muslim ruler of Bengal. His relationship with Mir Jafar, though the latter feared and hated him, had given him opportunities to mix with and personally cultivate the friendship of several important civil and military officers. His ability as an administrator particularly in fiscal matters was recognized and was a matter of concern for the Company.

Mufti Wali-ullah speaks of Mir Qasim "as a just ruler, kind to the poor, respectful and considerate towards the learned and generous towards his soldiers.[26]

He does not appear to have had much military experience and unlike other contemporary military adventurers who founded kingdoms he was never in the thick of battle. He lacked military prowess but was an efficient organiser. Dr. N. L. Chatterjee, his latest biographer, is hard and uncharitable in describing him as a coward, cruel and vindictive, avaricious and absolutely undependable. Contemporary accounts do not bear it out. He was harsh towards the law-breakers, to corrupt officers, to rebels and to all whom he suspected of treachery. He was kind and generous to his friends and family and showed considerable solicitude for the army. "He was", writes Lester Hutchinson, "strong-willed and able, he was in no mind to be a puppet ruler, he had sought merely a modus vivendi with the powerful Company and its unscrupulous servants. He had in turn been ignored, chivied, humiliated, and robbed. When he had claimed his rights he had been ridiculed, played with, illegally deposed and ignomi-

niously defeated. It is scarcely surprising that he hated the English, and most of all, Ellis, the Factor of Patna, whose foolhardy conduct had precipitated the trouble and who, so the Nawab believed, was the immediate cause of his ruin."[27]

Treachery and double dealing by his most trusted officers, the machinations of Mir Jafar and the English and frustration and despair warped his mind and made him irascible, shifty and vindictive. Left to himself in better times he would have restored the prosperity of Bengal and brought security of life and property to its people. Most European writers bear testimony to his intelligence, industry and capability as a ruler. Michael Edwards speaks of him as a "genuine patriot and an intelligent ruler." Hastings explaining the reason of the English choice of Mir Qasim to succeed Mir Jafar says, "A man of understanding, of an uncommon talent for business and great application and perseverance . . . His timidity, the little inclination he had ever shown for war . . . effectively secured us from any designs that he might form against our government . . . since a spirit superior to that of a worm when trodden upon could not have brooked the many daily affronts which he was exposed to . . ."[28]

"Intelligent and industrious, he was not abject or cowardly. 'We may raise a man to the dignity" (of the Nawabship) "just as unfit to govern and as little to be depended upon, and in short as great a rogue as our Nawab but perhaps not so great a coward, nor so great a fool, and of consequence much more difficult to manage."[29]

Ghulam Husain who knew him personally and once advised him to give up the losing battle against the English, thus sums up his character, "I shall proceed now to set down, with the pen of truth, whatever else we know of ourselves, or have heard from others on this very eminent character, and indeed, it must be, acknowledged, that although the perpetual treasons and endless duplicities, which he had been seeing throughout so many preceding administrations, had soured his temper, and the perpetual infidelities of the troops, as well as of the Commanders and Grandees of Bengal, and rendered him exceedingly suspicious, and ever prone to confiscation of properties, confinement of persons, and effusion of blood, nevertheless, it was acknowledged on all hands, that he had admirable qualifications that balanced his bad ones. In unravelling the intricacies of affairs of government, and especially the knotty mysteries of finances, in

examining and determining private differences, in establishing regular payments for his troops, and for his household, in honouring and rewarding men of merit and men of learning, in conducting his expenditure, exactly between the extremities of parsimoney and prodigality, and in knowing intuitively where he must spend freely, and where with moderation—in all these qualifications he was an incomparable man indeed, and the most extraordinary prince of his age. In imitation of the ancient sovereigns of this country, he used to sit in a public hall of audience, two days in the week, where he examined by himself the pretensions of suitors, and unravelled their respective subterfuges, and although he did not pronounce sentence, but after having asked the opinions of the persons preposed to matters of justice and law, yet it was always upon his own judgment. He ordered the plaintiff and the defendant to come close to him, listened to their allegations with attention, and sometimes confirmed the sentence of the judges, nor was any man daring enough in his Court, to touch a bribe, or to speak on behalf of unjust pretensions, or to sink any man's right or due, or to throw any doubt upon it. The poor, defenceless landholders, who in the administration of Janki Ram, and Ramnarain, had been dispossessed of their villages and hereditary estates, by the rapacious violence of short-sighted *zamindars*, found now that the day of redress was come for them. Those that had vouchers, were admitted to a probation, and those that had not were admitted to an affidavit, from the most ancient inhabitants of the spot, corroborated by the attestations of the Cazy (Qazi) and Mufty (Mufti) of that district. After their right had been ascertained, they received their dismission with suitable orders to the respective *zamindars* and men in power, and mace-bearer were sent with them to see the oppressed reinstated in their estates, and the defenceless righted in their grievances. He was equally attentive to objects of a more public nature. The numerous ornaments, in gold and silver that had once adorned Siraj-ud-Daulah's Imam Bara and had been heretofore melted into coin, to the amount of several lacs, were now taken notice of, and the whole sum, with a great deal more besides, was, by his order, repaid to the Syeds (Sayyids), to the necessitous and the needy.

"In these charitable distributions, he always made use of the channel of His Highness Shah Mahmed aaly hazin (Shah Muhammad Ali Hazin) chiefly and occasionally of Mir

Mahmed aaly Fazyl, and Shah Mahmed Hassan, and Zair Hussain Qhan, and of some other pious persons of that note, all men renowned for their knowledge and exemplary life. The original of the poesies of His Highness Shah Mahmed aaly hazin had been purchased at a high price by the former administration, but not paid, and, on being informed of it, he ordered the payment to be made good from his own treasury, assigning to that illustrious man at the same time, a pension that administered to all his wants, for he reckoned it amongst the felicities of his administration, to have chanced to pay for that precious collection. His regard for the author was no less conspicuous. Whenever that illustrious man came to see him, there was always a *Masned* spread for him close to his own, and he used to get up, and to advance some steps, and to bow to him with the utmost respect and modesty. He listened with attention to whatever he had to say, and thought it an honour to prove himself obedient to his commands, being proud of granting his demands with the best grace imaginable. He paid likewise a high regard to the virtuous men mentioned above, putting his ambition in keeping them satisfied to the utmost of their wishes. As to the payment of his troops, he was so exact, and so regular, that I do not recollect to have heard a single complaint on that head. The truth, is that his exactitude and keeness were so dreaded that no one dared to impose a false muster upon him, or to withhold any one soldier's due".[30]

A better and more honest of this much maligned person is difficult to find in contemporary accounts.

The deserters from the British army when confronted with Mir Qasim and the Emperor before Patna indicated the state of mind of some, if not all, the Indian troops of the realization that they were fighting a foreigner's battle against their own countrymen. The defiant attitude of Mir Qasim may have struck a chord "of national, specifically Indian consciousness in the hearts of Bengal peasant, mercenaries of the British."[31]

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REFERENCES

1. Sayyid Murtaza according to Siyar, Lucknow Text, p. 691, Nawab Imtiaz Ali Khan according to Riaz-us-Salatin, A. S. B. Text, p. 379 which is incorrect.
2. He held charge of Patna during the absence of Murshid Quli Khan and Sarbuland Khan.
3. The Department was abolished, silver decorations of the *Imambara* were taken over and expense on *Tazias* was discontinued.
4. Quoted by Ram Gopal.
5. Quoted by Ram Gopal, pp. 271-72.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 272
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 285.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 286.
11. *Ibid.* p. 287.
12. *Ibid.* p. 290.
13. G. B. Mallison, Decisive Battles of India, p. 150
14. Ram Gopal, op. cit.
15. Ram Gopal, pp. 315-16.
16. Seir-ul-Mutakhirin, Vol. I.
17. *Ibid.*
18. 24 miles south of Kanpur.
19. It was rumoured that the Afghans might again invade India.
20. Ram Gopal. op. cit., p. 342.
21. Strachy, Sir, John, Hastings and the Rohilla War, 1892, p. 49.
22. Ram Gopal, op. cit. p. 345.
23. Out of this amount 2 lakhs were to be paid to Mirza Najaf Khan.
24. For details *see* Aitchison, Treaties, 4th Edn.

25. Calender of Persian Correspondance, Vol. V. Calcutta letter No. 258, p. 33.

26. Mufti Waliullah, Ahd-e-Bangash, Kar. 1965, p. 254.

27. Lester Hutchinson, European Freebooters in Moghul India, Asia Publishing House, New York, 1946, p. 42.

28. Garret and Thompson, The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, p. 100.

29. Thornton, History of British India, Vol. I, p. 413.

30. Ghulam Hussain, The Seir-ul-Mutakhirin, Vol. II, Calcutta, pp. 432-34.

31. Strachey, p. 41, Twenty four of the mutineers were bound to the guns and blown away by Munro.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE MUSLIM KINGDOM OF MYSORE

Haider Ali Khan 1761-1782

Tipu Sultan 1783-1799

Haider Ali Khan

"Mysore was the cradle", says Bowring, "of one of the most daring and successful adventurers recorded in the annals of the East, and perhaps the most formidable adversary whom the British ever encountered in the region. The name of this leader of men was Haider Ali". During the short period of some thirty eight years (1761-1799) this short lived Muslim state in the south, inspite of the best efforts of the founder and his brilliant, but ill-fated son, paved the way for the consolidation of British power in the subcontinent as the paramount authority and led to the gradual extinction of the independent Indian states that had risen to power during the period of fast disintegration of the central authority of the Mughuls on one hand and gave the *coup de grace* to the Mughul Empire on the other. Within less than sixty years of the death of Tipu Sultan the paramountcy of the British was established.

A distant ancestor of Haider Ali named Hasan, who claimed one Yahya as his progenitor, left Baghdad, andcame to Ajmer in India where a son was born to him, called Wali Muhammad. The father migrated to Gulberga in the Deccan. His son, Ali Muhammad eventually proceeded to Kolar in the eastern part of Mysore, where he died about the year 1678 leaving four sons, the youngest of whom was named Fateh Muhammad. Fateh Muhammad was not long in finding military employment, and by his courage and ability won applause and preferment at the hands of the *subadar* of Sira. Eventually he returned to Mysore, was made a *Faujdar*, and received Budikota in *jagir*. He married, first a Sayyad lady and subsequently two sisters whose father was a *Nawayat* of the race of Hashim. By the younger of these ladies he had two sons, Shahbaz and Haider, the latter having been born in 1721-22.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Deccan, except the *Asaf Jahi* rulers who later stepped into the political void in that area as the hold of the central authority started weakening, was ruled by petty chiefs, called *paligars* or *nayaks*. The contemporary Mysore ruler who is described as *zamindar* in Mughul revenue papers was entirely in the hands of two brothers Devraj and Nanjraj, the former looking after revenue matters while the latter looked after the army and foreign affairs. Mysore territory yielded considerable revenue. Intermingled with such petty local chiefs were officers of foreign origin and mercenaries whose loyalty to the local or central authority varied with the chances which the authority offered them for personal aggrandisement. In order to conciliate the Emperor Alamgir I, who was said to have contemplated the invasion of the Mysore country, Devraj despatched an embassy to the Mughuls in 1699 which was favourably received. The Emperor, bestowed upon the Raja, as he was now styled, the title of Jagadeva and an ivory throne which was afterwards used on the occasion of the installation as chiefs of his successors.

Fateh Muhammad was killed along with his chief, while fighting against Saadat-Ullah Khan, the Nawab of Arcot. His children with their mother, were tortured and plundred by the son of the late *subadar* and sent adrift to seek refuge elsewhere. They proceeded to Bangalore where the elder son, Shahbaz, was old enough to obtain a small post as a subordinate officer. He soon rose to the command of 200 horse and 1000 foot, and was despatched in 1749 by the Mysore Dalwal to besiege Devashalli, twenty three miles north of Bangalore. He was here joined by his brother Haider, who though serving only as a volunteer, attracted attention for his gallantry and daring. He is described as being at this time of irregular habits, but he was a keen sportsman and full of dash and energy. He was wholly illiterate, and according to current accounts never learned to write.

Nanjraj, pleased with Haider's courage, gave him the command of a small body of troops. On the death of Alamgir I, in 1707, as a result of civil war which followed, the central authority was weakened. The provinces one after the other broke away from the centre and the non-Muslim dissident groups began setting up independent principalities. The atomisation of political authority was nowhere more prominent than in the Deccan. In 1743 the Nizam marching to Arcot found that the

designation of Nawab had become fashionable. After 18 Nawabs had been presented to him in one day he ordered that the next should be scouraged. The Nawab of Arcot who was subordinate to the Nizam for all political purposes an independent entity. The *Khutba* continued to be read in the name of the Mughal Emperor till the fall of Serangapatam in 1799. The Nizam and the Marahattas one after the other invaded Mysore and the imbecile Raja was forced to cede territory and pay heavy indemnity. Haider was mainly instrumental in extricating the Raja from his predicament. The two brothers were relieved of their position. Another Hindu officer Khande Rao secretly worked against Haider but the latter was taken a prisoner and kept in a cage. Haider Ali was now for all practical purposes *de facto* ruler of Mysore.

In 1749, the contest between rival claimants to the Nawabship of Carnatic led to the despatch of Haider with Mysore troops to the scene of conflict where the British and the French in their own interests were backing rival candidates. The Mysore troops on this occasion bore themselves bravely. Haider took advantage of the confusion to seize a large amount of the late Nizam's treasures with which he retreated to Mysore. Before doing so, he paid a visit to Pondicherry and closely observed their military organization. He formed a high opinion of the discipline of the French troops and of the skill of their engineer officers. During the course of the military operations in this campaign Haider seized several guns belonging to an English convoy which had been cut off from the main army. To utilize local talent for the furtherance of his designs, he took into his service Marahatta Brahmin, named, Khande Rao. In 1755, Haider was appointed *Faujdar* of Dindigal, now in the Madura District of Madras. Here he established an arsenal under the superintendence of French artillery officers whose services he obtained from Pondicherry. These recent activities earned for him the implacable enmity of the Nizam, the Marahattas, Muhammad Ali of Karnatic and the British.

As mentioned above, in March 1757, the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao invaded Mysore and exacted payment of a heavy indemnity of which five lacs of rupees were paid in cash, while some districts were pledged for an additional sum of twenty seven lakhs. After the retirement of the Marahatta troops Haider evaded payment of stipulated indemnity.

The Peshwa, in retaliation despatched in 1759 an army to annex the territory but because of Haider's gallant resistance the Peshwa agreed to withdraw his troops and relinquish his claim on the districts which had been pledged in lieu of indemnity. The Raja in gratitude conferred the title of Fath Haider Bahadur on Haider.

The Raja was now in a state of dependence on Haider. His servant Khande Rao was then won over by the Rani, and by his advice the Marahattas were invited again to rescue the Raja from Haider's thraldom. Haider, taken by surprise, was compelled to flee in haste, leaving his family behind him.

Fortune, however, favoured Haider. The Peshwa's army was signally defeated in the memorable battle against Ahmad Shah Abdali at Panipat in 1761, and the Marahatta force in Mysore was recalled hastily to Poona. Haider submitted to Nanjraj, the late minister, and was put in command of a body of troops, and given the title of Dalwai or Commander-in-Chief. Haider Ali by his wit and courage proceeded to re-establish himself in Mysore as the chief power behind the throne to the complete discomfiture of his enemies. He soon after entered into negotiations with Basalat and on payment of three lakhs, was appointed Nawab of Sira, and proclaimed as Haider Ali Khan Bahadur.

Haider Ali now conquered Bednur, Sunda, Seral, Kanara and Cute and by his ambition soon incurred the evil eye of the Marahattas, the Nizam and the English who regarded him as an interloper and a menace to their own ambitious designs in the Deccan. The Marahattas invaded Haider's territories in 1763 causing considerable damage to him in men and money. A triple alliance was formed against him but by March 1769 he had thoroughly thrashed the British and dictated a humiliating peace in April 1769 by which the British promised to help Haider in case of an attack by any other power, a promise they had no intention of keeping and had not kept when the occasion rose for it. When Haider was attacked by the Marahattas in 1771 the English refused to render assistance to him. Haider retaliated by invading Karnatic like an avalanche carrying devastation and destruction with him and in October 1780 captured Arcot. British diplomacy, however, won and the latter succeeded in detaching Haider's allies from

him. Haider died on 7 December 1782 in the midst of this struggle before concluding the war, leaving a large and prosperous kingdom as well as a host of determined enemies as a legacy for his son Tipu.

Haider was a born soldier, courageous, resourceful and intrepid. He was an excellent rider, and skilful alike with his sword and his gun. His early life, full of adventures, had enabled him to withstand fatigue and privations, qualities which have always been an asset for successful generals and empire builders. As a general he was reckless of personal danger, steadfast and patient in adversary, stimulating by his example the courage of his followers. Cool and sagacious in wartime he was no match for European diplomacy. He was an adept in cavalry tactics against his enemies which he effectively, skilfully, and successfully used in his wars. He valued his horses more than cannon balls. He was fully aware of the maritime superiority of the British and correctly and succently observed that he could beat them on land but could not dry up the seas. The celebrity of his leadership and his reputation as a soldier attracted to his standard vast numbers of recruits, loyal to him and prepared to make sacrifices for him.

Because of his being constantly engaged in war he left the administration of his kingdom to his subordinate officers. He has been accused by the British of being wantonly brutal towards his prisoners for the general belief was that "the English soldier was regarded by the natives as a ferocious beast who could only be subdued by main force." The prisoners that he freed sometimes in a fit of generosity generally betrayed him.

He had no hesitation in resorting to scorched earth policy in order to prevent the enemy entering his territory. The peace that he established in the much harried land compensated the subjects for the suffering incidental to war, but placed as he was heavy exactions were essential for defending his territories and extending them to meet the growing expenses of the administration. His every action was regulated by a cold calculating temperament with an uncanny insight into the prevalent political situation. He rewarded handsomely those who were useful to him and served him well. Though superstitious he was entirely free from bigotry, and his sense of justice and fairplay secured him the attachment of his subjects.

"In person he is described as being of medium height with rather coarse features, which were embrowned by the sun; his nose small but acquiline, his eyes also small, and the lower lip thick. He had neither beard nor whiskers. Although not addicted to wearing jewellery, he was not devoid of vanity in dress, the body and sleeves of his habit fitting neatly, and being drawn close by strings, while the rest of his robe was simple and hung in folds. His turban was a brilliant scarlet, flat at the top, and of immense length. When with the army, he wore a uniform of white satin with gold flowers, faced with yellow, drawers of the same material, and boots of yellow velvet, with a scarf of white silk round his waist."

Haider Ali very soon became a suspect in the eyes of contemporary rulers particularly in the south and the English and the French who were just on the verge of a long drawn conflict for supremacy in the subcontinent, for they foresaw that the Mughul power was bound to fall and it will take a long time before the void could be filled in by any otherpower. Syed Ghulam Hussain Khan the author of *Seirul Mutakhirin* particularly foresaw it when he remarked that as "Haider Naic is now going to cut so great a figure in our history it is proper . . . to give some account of that extra- ordinary man".

Haider Ali inspite of his activities on the battlefield took personal and intelligent interest in the details of the administration and kept himself well posted about what was happening in the kingdom through a network of spies. He was strict in the enforcement of his orders and with his own limitations worked for the welfare of his subjects. Cases which involved non-Muslims he generally preferred to be decided by their co-religionists. In a case that he referred to the French Commandant of his troops and who hesitated to take up the case he made the following observations: "Certainly you are yourself a Christian, must be better acquainted with the law of the Christian than any judge in my dominion and since my intention is that every one should be judged by his own law you cannot avoid accepting the commission."

He was very harsh towards dishonest Revenue Officers against whom there was sufficient proof of oppressing the ryots and of peculation. He generally avoided levying irregular exactions from his subjects to meet military contingencies. He, like the Ottoman Turks and later the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad, formed a battalion of non-Muslim boys who were called *Chellas*. It was a device to weaken the enemy and to strengthen the rulers that the Turks and the other Muslim rulers had resorted to. His punishments were sometime severe but were never motivated by religious differences. He continued the celebrations of Desehra festival in his kingdom, and did not desecrate the idols of the Hindus. When a Muslim divine appealed to him as a Muslim ruler to punish the Hindus for molesting the Muslims who had first attacked a Hindu procession, Haider Ali rebuked the divine and said: "Who told you that this was a Muhammadan Government".

He was religious-minded man with a firm faith in God.

"I have had no reason" he is reported to have observed, "to expect so numerous a combination of enemies, who so far from being provoked, have been loaded by me with benefits; but, notwithstanding their number, I do not despair. It is the power of God that has raised me, and I possess nothing but through Him; as long as He supports me, I shall look down upon my enemies; and if He should forsake me, I must submit with resignation to His pleasure."

Bowring thus sums up his character "He is said to have been very accessible to all and to have conversed with great readiness. His shrewdness and capacity were remarkable, and he had the faculty of giving his attention to several subjects at the same time, so that he could hear a letter read, dictate orders, and witness a theatrical exhibition all at once, without being distracted by any one of these occupations. All state business was transacted under his own eyes with regularity and despatch, his retentive memory enabling him to supervise closely everything that was done by his subordinates. He never allowed sensuality to incapacitate him from attention to his public

duties. Haider certainly failed in accomplishing the object he had in view at the close of his long and stormy career, but his want of success was mainly due to the duplicity of his native allies, and to the supineness of the French Government. Had it despatched a sufficient army to the Coromandel coast when Haider was operating against the Madras forces, there can be little doubt that Fort St. George would have fallen, and that the British authorities would have been supplanted by the French flag. He was a bold, an original, and an enterprising commander, skilful in tactics and fertile in resources, full of energy, and never desponding in defeat. He was singularly faithful to his engagements, and straightforward in his policy towards the British. His name is always mentioned in Mysore with respect, if not with admiration." To this man, with equal truth, he mentioned the duplicity of the British, their inveterate hatred of him accelerated by years of unbending and determined resistance to foreign rule the senseless cupidity and hostility of the Nizams and the Marahattas.

Tipu's Accession to the Throne—1783

Tipu Sultan who was not with his father at the time of the former's death, assumed the sovereignty of Mysore. Born in 1753 at Davanhalli, he was named after a Muslim devotee at Arcot for whom Haider had a special veneration. His mother, Fakhr-un-Nisa was a daughter of Mir Mogees-ud-Din, for some years Governor of Kadapa. The news of the sickness and death of Haider was carefully concealed till Tipu proceeded by forced marches towards the main army. On his arrival he was hailed with joy, and at once assumed the control of affairs. The Bombay Governmant sent an army against Mysore in order to relieve the British force then hard pressed in Malabar. Bednur fortress was at this time governed by Sheikh Ayaz or "Haiyat Sahib" a *Naik* of Malabar. The latter surrendered the fort and the town of Haidernagar to General Mathews. Tipu dividing his troops into two columns, despatched one of them to cut off all communication with the coast, and with the other proceeded to Haidernagar which he beseiged and soon compelled the garrison to surrender. Mathews capitulated on condition that his troops should be permitted to withdraw unmolested to the coast. General Mathews with many

of his officers and men after the disastrous defeat of Colonel Bailey arrived as prisoners at Seringapatam from Bednur (Haider Nager). General Mathews had surrendered by capitulation but it was he who first violated the terms of the treaty. Earlier, a fort about two days march from Bednur, had been stormed by a section of the General's army, and all the inhabitants wantonly and inhumanly put to death, and their bodies thrown into several tanks in the fort. This was fresh in Tipu's memory. Tipu retaliated and paid the English back in their own coin. "How far such conduct for such a crime could be justifiable, on the part of the English", Scurry who was for a long time Tipu's prisoner, cynically remarked, "I leave to those of superior judgment."

According to one Smith, a deserter, from the Company, General Mathews had inscribed a message on the bottoms of four plates to the effect that he had borrowed 330,000 rupees from the Malabar Christians for the support of the army since he had left Bombay and that if by any chance any prisoner read it and succeeded in reaching any of the Presidencies the news of the same was to be conveyed to the Governor there. A consistent plot to seduce Tipu's subjects and officers from their loyalty to him had been carefully laid out and successfully followed by the Company under the direction of one Reed, and whenever any one was detected in the prosecution of this plan he was given examplary punishment. The wonder was not that punishments were severe but that they were ineffective and there were always people who were prepared to defy punishments not for an ideal but merely for sordid interests. This is true of the history of all people but more of oriental despotic states.

The same writer continues: "At the time when this capitulation took place, the treasures that had been collected were almost incalculable, and to secure them, required a certain degree of ingenuity which, when gold is to be the reward, the English well know how to exercise. The soldiers were to lay down their arms, but to retain their baggage; and having received six months' pay in advance, and secured as many *pagodas* as they thought they could conceal, they left the fort without much reluctance. It is probable that all this would have passed on without any detection, if a small bag belonging to one of the soldiers, filled with gold, had not unfortunately burst, near the tent of the

Commander, and exposed its unexpected contents to some of his attendants. Information of this incident being communicated to Tipu, his suspicions were instantly awakened, and the whole party was ordered to halt. An examination immediately commenced and every knapsack was found lined with gold."

While this search was carried on, says a former prisoner in the hands of Tipu. the individuals of the detected party were busily employed in securing some portion of their ill-gotton wealth. *Pagodas* were thrust down the throats of dogs and goats and even the crops of fowls were crammed, with the precious morsels. Both men and women partook of the golden repast, and some resorted to expedients that must not be expressed." Through these means a considerable amount of booty was obtained and smuggled out but much of it was taken from them, and restored to the treasury of Nagar, which had been partially exhausted. This infraction of treaty was neither forgotten nor forgiven by Tipu; "and it is probable that this, and similar occurrences, concurring with the protection which General Mathews had afforded to Iyaz Khan whom Tipu had doomed to destruction, contributed in no small degree to his death."

Tipu sent a force against Mangalore to regain possession of the place, but the attack was repulsed. When news was received of the cessation of hostilities between the English and the French, the officers of the latter withdrew from the scene of operations; and Tipu, indignant at the resistance blockaded the town. Mangalore ran short of soldiers, food and medicines with the result that an epidemic broke out; in desperation the garrison surrendered the fort to Tipu. According to the terms of the treaty which was executed in January 1784, Tipu recovered possession of all the territories held by his father in Kanara and Malabar. The inhabitants of Malabar had on more than one occasion betrayed the Sultan and had been rendering assistance to the British. The Portuguese, having on pretence of trade obtained settlements on the western coast, had prohibited Muslims from practising the rules of their faith as they had been doing in Arakan and Bengal. "His Majesty, the shadow of God", says the Chronicler, "being informed of these circumstances, the rage of Islam began to boil in his breast." The Portuguese were taken captives and kept in slavery. Those of them who accepted Islam were released and came to be known as Ahmadis."

In Coorg some resistance having been made to the Mysore Governor, Tipu marched into the country with his army, restored order and severely reprimanded them for their custom of polyandry and going about with uncovered breasts.

Just before the death of Haider, the English Resident at Tanjore had entered into negotiation with one Tirmal Rao emissary of the dispossessed Mysore Rani, with the object of restoring to power the imprisoned Raja, but the conspiracy was detected, and the leaders were summarily executed. A treaty was signed in March 1784 providing for the mutual restitution of the places which the two powers British and Mysore—had seized, and for the surrender of all prisoners. Tipu exulted over this treaty and rightly boasted that the English had cringed before him for cessation of hostilities. Tipu reoccupied all the southern part of Malabar soon afterwards but his exultation over his success was rather premature as his enemies the Marahattas, the Nizam and the British were all the time secretly preparing for a show down and the whole story is one of tragedy, bad faith and sordidness.

Campaign Against the Marahattas

Tipu's next military operations were conducted against a chief between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. This chief, confident of Marahatta support, had continuously withheld the payment of tribute. The *deshai* or *jagirdar* of the strong hill fort of Margund between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. This campaign was essential from a military point of view—the strengthening of his weak northern frontier. The Marahattas under Nana Phadnavis sought an alliance with the English and the Nizam to checkmate Tipu's desire to have strong frontiers. In the beginning of 1786 the two latter powers joined the Marahattas. Tipu, who had just returned from Coorg, advanced against his enemies having first assumed the title of King (Padshah). He besieged Adoni, then held by the Nizam's troups, but found the town deserted and contented himself with raising its fortifications to the ground. Early in 1787 Tipu made peace with the Marahattas agreeing to pay the arrears of indemnity which he had earlier agreed to pay and surrendered Adoni, Nargund, and other strongholds. This he did to conserve his resources and prepare himself for a confrontation with the British.

Since the conclusion of the treaty with the Madras Government at Mangalore in 1784 Tipu had been most anxious to closely ally himself with the French, by whose assistance he hoped to strengthen his kingdom and challenge the British whom he both feared and hated. With this object he also sent an embassy to the Sublime Porte, but the reception which his envoys met with at Istanbul was so unfavourable, "that they returned in a rage". In 1787 a second embassy headed by Muhammad Darvesh Khan, was despatched to Paris where the delegates were received most graciously by Louis XVI and hospitably entertained but no effective assistance could be secured as France itself was headings towards the catastrophe of 1789.

Invasion of Travancore

Tipu coveted Malabar as it would give him the command of the western coast "thus facilitating the importation of munition of war and enabling him to attack the English from two sides." It was the corner stone of his policy to give an international status to his kingdom and have diplomatic as well as commercial relations with friendly states. The ruler of Travancore had afforded protections to rebellious fugitives from Malabar on one hand and had strongly fortified the frontier on the Cochin side which fortifications could be later used against him by his enemies.

On 28 December 1789, Tipu personally appeared before the walls of the town. By daybreak of the 29th his troops had gained an entrance and taken possession of a part of the ramparts on the right side of the fort. Lord Cornwallis on hearing of this immediately issued explicit instructions to the Madras Government to help Tranvancore, "the faithful ally".

Tipu soon reduced Tranvancore to straits, demolished its fortification and sent off as spoils to his capital 200 pieces of cannon, and a vast quantity of ammunition. In the meanwhile the monsoon set in, and the whole country was soon under water. Hearing that the English were assembling an army at Trichinopoli Tipu was compelled to withdraw his troops in haste and retreat to Palghat.

The Governor-General in December 1789, entered into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Marahattas and the Nizam against Tipu's expansionist ventures. The latter when he learnt of

this alliance wrote to Cornwallis to settle disputes by negotiations through envoys from both sides. Cornwallis rejected the suggestion maintaining that "an attack upon an ally of the English was tantamount to a declaration of war upon themselves", a flimsy excuse which did not satisfy Tipu and confirmed him in his opinion about the intentions of the British. The Mysore ruler had no alternative but to prepare for fight against the allies. During the campaign Tipu showed greater skill in stretegy than the English general who was opposed to him, but he met with reverses on the western coast and by the end of 1790 the whole of Malabar was freed from Tipu's sway. By his alertness and energy and the swiftness of his military movement however, Tipu succeeded in checking and discomfiting his opponents, who instead of occupying any part of his territory, found themselves attacked in the very centre of their own possessions. At the end of January 1791, Lord Cornwallis personally assumed the command of the army then assembled at Vellore. He marched towards Bengalore and forced Tipu to evacuate it.

On approaching Seringapatam, Cornwallis found the Mysore troops drawn up in a strong position. Finding his communications cut off, he destroyed his siege train, threw his artillery into the river, and burning his carts and timbrels, retired towards Bangalore on May 26. The Marahattas armies, of whose approach Tipu's skirmishers had kept him in ignorance, came to the rescue of the British. Superior force and the treacherous conduct of his own officers neutralised his movements.

The chief gain which the Marahattas hoped to obtain from the allies was the recovery of territories lost by Raghoba. A large contingent comprising mounted and foot soldiers besieged Dharwar, the capital of the Province, in September 1790. Dharwar was then held by Badr-uz-Zaman who held out for three months but owing to scarcity of provisions, he surrendered the fort. The fall of Dharwar led to the speedy reoccupation by the Marahattas of the whole province. Nizam Ali's contingent aided by a small British force, assembled in Haiderabad in May 1790, and after protracted delays, invested the stronghold of Koapal which held out for five months.

Lord Cornwallis returned to Bangalore. He had lent fourteen

lakhs of rupees to the Marahattas to operate in the north-west against Sira while the Nizam's forces were to operate from the north-east a well planned pincer movement.

Unable to withstand the combined attack of the enemy Tipu opened negotiations on the 22nd. The preliminary condition which the allies offered to bring about cessation of hostilities insisted on (*a*) the cession of half of Tipu's dominions, (*b*) the payment of over three millions of rupees (*c*) the release of all prisoners, and (*d*) the surrender of two of his sons, Moiz-ud-Din and Abdul Khaliq as hostages. Tipu had to accept the harsh terms as he had been completely outmanoeuvred, outnumbered and isolated.

Tipu faithfully discharged his obligations. The hostages were returned to their father in 1794. After this campaign assiduous attenion was paid to strengthening the fortifications of Seringapatam. For he was fully aware of the dangerous position he was in. The Sultan first proceeded to introduce various salutory changes and improvements in his administration.

Next he desperately looked about himself for allies against the three implacable enemies. He was convinced that sooner or later he will have to suffer the fate which had overtaken Siraj-ud-Daula, Mir Jaffar and Mir Qasim, for neither the Muslim public nor foreign and Indian chiefs enmeshed in their own intrigues were in a position to help him.

On 2, April 1797, Tipu addressed a letter to the authorities (sardars) of Mauritius reminding them of the friendship which had long subsisted between them and the Mysore state. He appealed to them to furnish him both Europeans and Negro troops to fight his enemies and preserve the integrity of his empire. His emissary reached the Isle of France in January 1798. The ambassadors were received in state by the governor who promised to transmit their master's requisition to France. The only tangible act was the issuing of a proclamation calling for volunteers in response to which about one hundred French subjects accompanied Tipu's envoys on their return to India, landing at Mangalore in April 1798.

Lord Mornington, on his arrival in India proceeded to secure the cooperation of Indian States by caresses, coercion or negotiations

to root out the French at their courts. The Nizam under the new system of subsidiary alliances dismissed a French contingent of 14,000. On 12 August 1798, Wellesley recorded a minute in which after adverting to Tipu's embassy to Mauritius, as the clear proof of bad faith which it evinced, concluded by saying:

> "This therefore, is not merely the case of an injury to be repaired, but of the public safety to be secured against the present and future designs of an irreconciliable, desperate and treacherous enemy. Against an enemy of this description no effectual security can be obtained, otherwise than by a reduction of his power, as shall not only defeat his actual preparations but establish a permanent restraint upon his future means of office."

On 20 November, 1798, Tipu wrote to the British expressing his astonishment that inspite of his well known freindship the Governor-General meditated hostilities. On December 18, he wrote again, signifying his gratification at the defeat in Aboukir Bay of the French whom he characterised as "faithless and the enemies of mankind".

A week afterwards Lord Mornington forwarded to Tipu a *Khat* from the Sublime Porte, in which Sultan Salim had given a full detail of the invasion of Egypt by the French and stated that all true Mussalmans were bound to repel their aggressions. Tipu was specially requested to refrain from hostile proceedings against the English, or from lending a compliant ear to the French, and the Sublime Porte offered its good offices to adjust satisfactorily any cause of friction between the British and Tipu. Tipu on the 16th of the same month replied to the Sublime Porte, in a gradiloquent despatch", full of professions of unbounded devotion for the head of his faith." In a separate communication, which Tipu forwarded by a special messenger to Constantinople, he virulently attacked the English, as well as the French.

On 22 February, 1799 the Governor-General issued a declaration of war on the part of the East India Company and their allies, the Nizam and the Peshwa.

On the 9th the Sultan alarmed at the state of affairs, sent an agent to the English General's camp with a letter asking for reasons for the hostile proceedings against him and asserting his own adherence

to existing treaties. On the 20th Tipu again expressed a wish for a conference to discuss the terms of peace. General Harris forwarded the draft of a preliminary treaty for his acceptance. This document stipulated that the Sultan should at once dismiss all Frenchmen in his service, that he should cede half of his territory to the allies, pay two millions sterling, release all his prisoners ; and finally make over as hostage two of his eldest sons, besides four of his chief officers, whose names were given. A period of twenty four hours only was allowed for the Sultan's assent to these conditions. These terms naturally the Sultan could not accept as he did not want to enter the spider's web or sign his own death warrant.

The Sultan now in despair, again attempted to open negotiations, and on the 28th intimated his desire to send ambassadors to confer with the English General. But the British refused to negotiate. At the last hour Tipu is reported to have learnt with dismay of the treachery of his officers as well as other enemies at home which must have been a shattering disillusionment and caused him considerable mental torment. Throughout his life he oscillated "between sentiment and realism, duty and power, renunciation and action, reality and vengeance". In his last hour his courage, desire for achievement, a will to power, an assurance of his superior faculties and above all his faith in God only sustained him from complete collapse. It was desperation and his belief in his own ability to cope with his enemies, his stubborness to keep his head high which had led him to the final catastrophe.

On May 2, the enemy's batteries breached the outer fortifications. On the evening of the next day, orders were issued for an assault at 1 p. m.

> "Dressed in a light coloured jacket, with trousers of fine chints, a red silk sash, a rich turban, and an embroiderred belt, with a talisman on his right arm, he proceeded early on the 4th to his headquarters in a gateway on the northern face called the Kalla Diddi which served as a private sally port. The Sultan hastened towards the breach, and endeavoured to rally his soldiers, encouraging them to make a stand. On his arriving at a bridge leading to the

inner fort, he mounted his horse, and endeavoured to enter the town, but on reaching the gate the passage was so crowded by fugitives that he was unable to pass. While his progress was thus hampered, his pursuers fired into the gateway, and wounded him in the breast. He pushed on, however, but was stopped by the fire of the soldiers of the 12th regiment from inside the gate, receiving a second wound in the right side, while his horse fell under him. He was immediately raised by some of his faithful attendants, and placed in his Palankeen (palanquen) under an arch in the gateway. He was implored to make himself known to the English troops, from whose commanders he would no doubt have received the attention due to his rank, but he absolutely refused to comply with the suggestion. Soon afterwards some European soldiers entered the gateway one of whom attempted to take off his richly jewelled sword belt, when Tipu, sorely wounded as he was, made a cut at the man, and wounded him in the knee. The enraged soldier levelled his musket and shot him in the head, causing instantaneous death."

The body of the Sultan was, after much search discovered lying in a heap of the slain and identified. It was still warm and the eyes were open, the countenance being in no way distorted although there were three wounds in the body and one in the temple. His turban, jacket, and sword belt had disappeared, but the talisman on his right arm, contained an amulet with Arabic characters on the manuscript inside was at once recognized."

The next day the funeral cortege escorted by four companies of Europeans, proceeded from the fortess to the Lal Bagh, where the remains were interred by the side of his father, Haider Ali. The streets through which the procession passed were crowded by Musalmans who prostrated themselves, and envinced every sign of grief. It is related that the solemnity of the ceremony was enhanced by terrific claps of thunder which burst over the island immediately afterwards. Discovery of a private entrance into the treasury enabled marauders to carry off a vast amount of coin and jewellery before they

could be stopped. Nevertheless, what remained was of priceless value. A magnificient throne, a superb howdah, curious and richly jewelled matchlocks and swords, solid gold and silver plate, costly carpets and chinaware, a profusion of fine gems, and a valuable library, were among the treasures found in the palace. The specie alone amounted to sixteen lacs of Pagodas or £480,000 while the jewels were valued at nine lacs. The total number of ordnance captured was 929, including guns, mortars and howitzers, 176 of which were twelve pounders and over. The library contained many curious and interesting manuscripts of which the following is a summary : Koran, 34 Vols; Commentaries on Koran 41; Prayers 35; Traditions 46; Theology 46; Sufyism (mystic writings), 115 ; Ethics 24; Jurisprudence 95; Arts and Sciences 19; Philosophy 54 ; Astronomy 20; History 118; Letters 53 ; Poetry 190; Hindi and Deccani poetry 23 ; Hindi and Deccani prose 4; Turkish prose 2; Fables 18; some of these books belonged to the kings of Bijapur and Golconda, but the majority stored at Chittur, Savanur, and Kadapa. With the exception of one precious copy of the Koran, which was forwarded to Windsor Castle the books were plundered, the greater part of this library was transferred to the newly founded library of Fort William at Calcutta."

Tipu and the British

British policy in India towards the Indian rulers from the time of Clive to Wellesley vacillated between neutrality and aggression or as it has been expressed by British historians between a policy of non-intervention and forward policy of expansion and ultimate domination of the whole sub-continent. The policy of non-intervention was dominated firstly by considerations of dividends or profits which a commercial concern naturally kept in the forefront, the desire to avoid diplomatic involvements with European powers with similar designs on India or a latent fear of going too far or too rapidly with political expansion which might lead to a combined resistance on the part of military adventurers and former rulers of independent states. The forward policy was the expression of the expanding western world equipped with new technical knowledge and greater material resources and uncramped by religious interference with purely

temporal matters. It was prompted by a desire to consolidate the position of the British in a country where central political authority was fast weakening and creating a political void. The aggressive policy of Carnwallis and Wellesley is justified by British historians on the ground of the real danger to which British possessions in India to which they had no legal right except of superior military organization and subtle political chicanery, were exposed because of the hostility of France. It was considered absolutely necessary to remove either by subservient treaties with Indian princes or by force all the potential and actual allies of the French. From Warren Hastings onward the Company inspite of this vacillation appears to have been determined to eradicate all foreign rivals on one side and to so divide and weaken the native powers on the other so as to make them innocuous. That Tipu was an inveterate enemy of the British no one would deny. His one great aim in life was to rid the country of the "perfidious Albion." Tipu had realised the danger of the British ultimately occupying the position of power and prestige vacated by the Mughuls. If the menace had to be successfully met it had to be done immediately before the British became too strong and the Indian powers too weak. He found no support from the Indian powers; the French rendered him little or no assistance; Zaman Shah's hands were too full and northern Indian powers lay prostrate at the feet of the English. The Ottoman Sultan and even the Sharif of Mecca played him false. The Mughul emperor was too weak and powerless to render any assistance. Bahadur Shah after his arrest in Delhi mournfully remarked that the failure of the Mughuls to respond to the call for help of Tipu had brought this evil day for the Timurids and their sufferings and humiliation was the divine punishment for their failure to help a Muslim in distress. Nana Farnavis realised too late that the fall of Tipu was the beginning of the end of Marahattas' dreams of Hindu Padpadshahi. Scurry while welcoming the fall of Tipu remarks that it was to be regretted that the revolution was not effected with power untarnished by violence and hands unstained by blood. Various descriptions of Serangapatam and the adjoining buildings have come down to us. Speaking of the Daulat Bagh, Scurry says, "This is a most charming spot nearly surrounded by a lofty wall, at the foot of which runs the river. Here was a great variety of fruits of the most exquisite flavour, lofty

trees of a sublime appearance, together with a representation of the defeat of the brave but unfortunate Colonel Bailey : and near the walls is a vast tank, in which numbers of large fish were kept (consecrated, I suppose, for they were never disturbed) by the highest order of the *faquirs* who had their dwellings on the margin of a tank. But when the English took possession, no doubt these fine fish which were daily fed by them, but doubtless they also have long since been destroyed by some of John Bull's sons".

Tipu is thus described by the same writer:

> "In his person he was majestic, about five feet nine inches and a half in height with large eyes, an aquiline nose, and remarkably broad shoulders; his complexion was about two shades lighter than quite black. In short, he must have been a very powerful man."

> "In his person he was comely ; and if his most bitter enemies had seen him at his *durbar*, they must have acknowledged that it was a noble sight. As a general, Mr. Whiteway thinks he was inferior to his father; but as a scholar, he was vastly his superior. This, indeed, is paying him but a meagre compliment ; his father, though at first a favourite of fortune, being unable to write his own name. Tipu on the contrary attended much to mental cultivation, and delighted in learning, and learned men of all nations."

Tipu has been accused by nearly all British writers of his inhuman and at times barbarous treatment of prisoners of war and those who had incurred his displeasure by resisting his authority. The punishments meted out to his enemies who betrayed his confidence or played him false were in no way harsher than were meted out to war or political criminals in other parts of the world by other nations. The punishments meted out to those who had rebelled against the British during the unhappy days of the 1857-58 risings were masterpieces of refined cruelty and calculated disregard of human sufferings. That in itself is no justification from an ethical point of view but political necessity and the nature of times left no alternative to the rulers but to meet resistance and treachery by maximum use of force to avoid greater evil. In those pitiless times when no quarter was given to the enemy and no quarter asked, when there was a death dance

for the possession of power, the question of ethical standards or considerations of humanity did not arise. Surrounded as Tipu was by enemies on all sides and betrayed and deserted as he found himself by those whom he had trusted and expected with justification to stand by him, had become suspicious of all but not squeamish.

That the government of Haider and Tipu was despotic every one will readily admit, and that in innumerable instances their conduct towards their prisoners was cruel, cannot be denied. Mr. Whiteway, however, thinks that this is not a fair criterion by which to estimate their characters. On some occasions, even towards these traits of magnanimity might be found without difficulty, particularly in rewarding merit, and giving encouragement to every thing that would tend to promote the arts. Their despotism was tempered by mere generosity and fear of God as well as public opprobium.

Tipu, to impose some restraint on that despotic power which was in his hands, issued a standing order, that in case he should in future pass sentence of death on any criminal, half an hour should be permitted to elapse before it was carried into execution. At the expiration of this period, an officer was appointed to wait upon him again, to know whether he would revoke or confirm the sentence. If revoked, the culprit was liberated; but if confirmed, another half an hour was again to elapse, at the expiration of which a similar application was to be made; when, if the order was confirmed, all hope of mercy was then at an end. This order was to be incorporated among the permanent laws of his empire, and was designed to be binding on himself, and on his successors, in all future years. This was a crude but an honest endeavour to ensure that such a decision was not taken when swayed by anger or personal spite. Nor were these emanations of humanity wholly confined to Tipu. The ladies of his seraglio felt, on some occasions, the power of human sympathy, and yielded to the influence of compassion to put in a word for the accused. In the words of an English writer, "there are mitigating circumstances when we propose to pass judgment on Haider and his son. Let the philosopher, the historian, the traveller, and such as are acquainted with our Asiatic affairs, look back on the behaviour of the Europeans, from the year 1770 to 1780, and they will then find occasions, if not to exculpate these merciless tyrants, to behold others involved in crimes, on which no Englishman can reflect without a blush. Aggression provokes

retaliation, which equity does not always weigh in her impartial scales. It too frequently happens that the defence of a delinquent consists in recrimination ; and in his own estimation, his cause is triumphant, if he can find another more deeply plunged in enormity than himself."

Haider and Tipu were well acquainted with the value and importance of European arts, and were anxious to, within their limited resources, introduce them into their country.

The kingdom of Tipu Sultan, previous to the war, rendered his power formidable, not only because of its extent and wealth but of its strategic position which, strengthened by numerous fortresses, commanded the frontiers of the adjoining countries; "and the restless enterprising spirit of the sovereign, obliged all around him to be in state of constant preparation for their defence."

The Sultan's revenues, it appears, amounted annually to about two and half millions sterling. He was, besides, possessed of very great treasures and had an army consisting of 18,000 cavalry, 50,000 regular infantry, formed in brigades, completely equipped with field artillery and twice the number of irregular infantry employed to garrison his forts and also for the collection of his revenues.

"Whether from the operation of the system established by Hyder, from the principles which Tipoo had adopted for his own conduct; or from his dominions having suffered little by invasion for many years; or from the effect of these several causes united, his country was found everywhere full of inhabitants, and apparently cultivated to the utmost extent of which the soil was capable ; while the discipline and fidelity of his troops in the field, until their last overthrow, were testimonies equally strong of the excellent regulations which existed in his army. His government, though strict and arbitrary, was the despotism of a politic and able sovereign who nourishes, not oppresses, the subjects who are to be the means of his future aggrandisement and his "cruelties" were in general, inflicted only on those whom he considered as his enemies. He had been diligently employed ever since the former war, in improving his army, and in strengthening his principal forts; and had laid in such ample supplies of military stores in his frontier posts to the north, as showed that he meditated extensive conquest.

"Confiding in his superior powers and talents, and aiming at universal conquest, this active Prince not only disclaimed the paramount authority of the Emperor of Delhi and declared himself to be the greatest king on earth and announced himself to be the restorer of the Muhammadan faith."

Tipu was anxious to consolidate the conquests of his father, to give "scientific frontiers to his kingdom, to modernise Mysore, to improve agriculture, promote industries and encourage indigenous arts and crafts, enlarge his economy, and participate in the fast growing international trade and make his country find its right place in the community of nations.

Tipu's military undertakings bear evidence to his spirit of enterprise and dash. He showed equally great capacity for administration. Moreover, his artillery and infantry had improved but they had not kept pace with the great changes which had been introduced in European armies. In fact, he seems to have become too fond of change like Muhammad bin Tughluq and his innovations in almost every sphere after 1792 were "incessant and bewildering". He possessed considerable creative energy and intellectual curiosity like Akbar. Tipu was lacking in sound judgment and a more pliant and realistic approach to politics. His cavalry was the terror of Madras at times and if he had concentrated in strengthening it he might have delayed if not averted his fall. He lacked political chicanery and finesse and the "cloak and danger" diplomacy. Wellington was of the opinion that with judicious handling of the troops which Tipu possessed the British troops ought to have been entangled among the jungles of Bargalore on the day they reached Seringapatam. His retreat to Seringapatam was a fatal mistake which the Thakoors and the Rajputs had earlier committed in fighting the Turks in the 12th and the 13th centuries. In his war against Cornwallis, he had emerged, on the whole, successful. He ought to have taken "lesson from the past, and improved the familiar Mysorean tactics which had made Hyder victorious in numerous campaigns". If Tipu had submitted to the invitable and followed the policy of Nizam, his throne might have been preserved, but then Tipu would not have been true to himself. Whatever Tipu's faults might have been, all must admit that he died fighting bravely like a man. According to a European writer "he died like a soldier

but not a general or a diplomat." It is a testimony to Tipu's greatness that no man of character rank or influence in his hereditary dominions deserted him, except the unscrupulous opportunist upstarts. Sir John Shore's testimony to his ability is no less emphatic: "We know by experience his abilities, he has confidants and advisers but no minister and inspectors like superintendants, and regulates himself all the details of his government. The peasantry of his dominions are respected and their labours encouraged and rewarded". Moore, in his narrative of the operations of Captain Little's detachment (1794) stated "that when a person travelling through a strange country finds it well-cultivated, populous, with industrious inhabitants, cities newly founded commerce extending, increasing and every thing flourishing so as to indicate happiness, he will naturally concede it to be under a form of government congenial to the minds of the people. This is a picture of Tipu's country, and this is our conclusion regarding his government". Another writer, Dirom, admits that Tipu's government though strict and arbitrary was "the depotism of a politic and able sovereign". Beatson has described in graphic detail Tipu's last war and the capture of Seringapatam. His narrative was written under Wellesley's patronage and is disfigured by a violent prejudice against Tipu. Beatson says that Tipu had decided to defend the fort to the last extremity. "He was often heard to say that as man could die only once, it was of little moment when the period of existence might terminate."

On the whole one must agree with Mill that as a ruler Tipu can bear comparison with the greatest princes of the East, "and that his country was the best cultivated and its population the most flourishing in India. The people of Mysore are industrious, thrifty and law-abiding and if their ruler is enlightened and sagacious, they are capable of developing the resources of their country with the sort of smiling realism that has always been a part of the Mysorean tradition."

Tipu's fundamental mistakes were two. He did not know compromise or accommodate himself to the changing conditions. "Sheer ability, courage, foresight and political sagacity had raised his father to the throne. Both lived by force of circumstances in an atmosphere of peril surrounded by implacable enemies. All their energies were diverted to maintaining their hold on their dominion. Vehemently vital, they disdained comfort and sexual pleasure". Tipu could never give up a principle for political expediency. "He was a man who

joined to immeasurable ambition a genius for enterprise and to immovable constancy and a courage which never flinched."

His second fundamental mistake lay in altering the traditional mode of fighting. "The Mysore bullock is superior to other Indian bullocks in blood, strength, energy, quickness of step, staying power and endurance of privation". Tipu's father had made excellent use of these animals. Wellington's victories in India were due to a large extent to his thorough commissriat arrangements and his memoranda on bullocks and similar problems of transport may still be read with profit. Tipu "too made use of his bullocks now and then; but he did not know their true value, and his defeat was due mainly to substitution of mobility, speed and alarcrity for bastions and ditches."

> "Haider had been brought up in the hard school of adversity and his native shrewdness and keen observation of the people around him had made him a stern realist. Tipu on the other hand had passed through no such chastening and sobering experience with the result that he failed to temper his ambition with prudence or develop an insight into the character of people around him. He was an idealist and a dreamer with one track mind and ambitious to force the issue with the British."

Tipu was a patron of men of letters in the old tradition of Muslim rulers. In 1794 he set up a press and the first Urdu paper was published there. Its publication continued till 1799 when all the old files were taken over by the British. His greatest service was the patronage of Urdu. Among the famous writers of his time may be mentioned the following:

Hasan, the author of a book on religion, Jamal-ud-Din the author of *Fath-ul-Mujahidin*, a book of royal orders, regulating rites and practices relating to marriages; Tarab, the author of *Fatah Nama*, Maulvi Muhammad Ishaq, author of *Riaz-ul-Arifin*, a book on ethics, Muhammad Ali and Muhammad Saeed Abul Khaliq the poets, Sayyad Hasan Ali known as the author of *Nishan-i-Haideri*, the anonymous author of *Haidernama*, Qazi Ghulam Ahmad the author of *Alkamul Nisa* a book on *Fiqh*, and another anonymous author of

Jungnamah. The following other writers are also mentioned:

1. Shah Muhammad Sadr-ud-Din.
2. Muhammad Saeed Asi.
3. Khair-ullah Qadri Khadim.
4. Sh. Mian Fazlullah Faqir.
5. Syed Husain Ali Shahbaz.
6. Muhammad Ehsan Shirani.
7. Muhammad Makhdoom Shakir.
8. Shah Kamal-ud-Din Kamal.

His passionate love for his homeland, his contempt for ingratitude, his complete indifference to death which he preferred to dishonour and his desire to see the whole of India free from the rapidly growing influence of the foreigners are beautifully expressed in the following verses of Allama Muhammad Iqbal, of blessed memory.

کلیات اقبال (اردو) شیخ غلام علی اینڈ سنز ۱۹۷۳ء

ص ، ۵۳۴ - تو رہنورد شوق ہے ؟ منزل نہ کر قبول
لیلیٰ بھی ہم نشیں ہو تو محمل نہ کر قبول

ص ، ۵۳۵ - اے جوئے آب بڑھ کے ہو دریائے تند و تیز
ساحل تجھے عطا ہو تو ساحل نہ کر قبول

ایضاً - می ندانی خطۂ ہندوستان
آں عزیز خاطر صاحب دلاں

ایضاً - خطۂ ہر جلوہ اش گیتی فروز
درمیان خاک و خوں غلطد ہنوز

ایضاً - در گلش تخم غلامی را کہ کشت ؟
ایں ہمہ کردار آں ارواح زشت

سلطان شہید

ص ، ۷۶۸ - باز گو از ہند و از ہندوستان
آنکہ با کاہش نیرزد بوستاں

آنکه اندر مسجدش هنگامه مرد
آنکه اندر دیر او آتش فسرد

آنکه دل از بہر او خوں کردہ ایم
آنکه یادش را بجاں پروردہ ایم

از غم ما کن غم او را قیاس
آہ ازاں معشوق عاشق نا شناس

پیغام سلطان شہید به رود کا ویری

ص ، ۱۷۷ - اے مرا خوشتر ز جیحون و فرات
اے دکن را آب تو آب حیات

آہ شہرے کو در آغوش تو بود
حسن نوشیں جلوہ از نوش تو بود

اے ترا سازے که سوز زندگی است
ہیچ میدانی که ایں پیغام کیست

آنکه میدانی طواف سطوتش
بودۂ آئینه دار دولتش

آنکه صحراها ز تدبیرش بہشت
آنکه نقش خود بخون خود نوشت

ص ، ۱۷۳ - ہر زماں میرد غلام از بیم مرگ
زندگی او را حرام از بیم مرگ

بندۂ آزاد را شانے دگر
مرگ او را می دہد جانے دگر

او خود اندیش است مرگ اندیش نیست
مرگ آزاداں ز آنے بیش نیست

بگذر از مرگے که سازد با لحد
زانکه ایں مرگ است مرگ دام و دد

—:o:—

APPENDIX

Mir Sadiq

Sadiq is mentioned with such contempt by the late Allama Muhammad Iqbal and coupled with Mir Jafar of Bengal[1] as the arche type of those who are disloyal to one's own country and religion. He was originally in the services of Tipu's father and gradually rose to become the *Dabir-i-Khas* of Haider Ali. He later on played false to his master and began conspiring with Mir Nizam Ali Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk and Mir Alam. The Nizam considering Haider Ali as a stambling block in his way used Sadiq as his instrument for seducing Mysorean officers from their loyalty to the house of Haider Ali. Sadiq and the small group of spies he had gathered round him kept the Nizam well informed of all that was happening in Mysore and this news was transmitted through agents to Arcot, Madras, and Calcutta. The treachery of Sadiq was thus responsible for unveiling his movements to his enemies and led to his ultimate fall. During the seige of Seringapatam when Tipu decided to leave the palace and personally fight the besieging army, Sadiq had all the gates of the palace closed behind him and it was he who pointed out later the dead body of the Sultan. When later a commission was appointed for the division of the kingdom of Mysore Sadiq was appointed as a reward for his services a member of this Commission. According to Mahmud Khan Mahmud Bangalori he was killed on the same day by one of the loyal servants of Tipu and four days later he was buried where he had been killed. He is cursed by the Mysoreans till this day. The English account given above, however, appears to be more correct.[2]

کلیات اقبال (فارسی) شیخ غلام علی اینڈ سنز لاہور ۱۹۷۳ء

ص ، ۷۲۹ - اندرون او دو طاغوت کہن
روح قومے کشتہ از بہر دو تن

ص ، ۷۳۰ - جعفر از بنگال و صادق از دکن
ننگ آدم ، ننگ دیں ، ننگ وطن

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1 کلیات اقبال فارسی ، شیخ غلام علی اینڈ سنز ، لاہور ۱۹۷۳ء

2. See Tarikh-i-Sultanat Khudad by Mahmud Bangalori, Banglor, 1934.

ایضاً - نا قبول و نا امید و نا مراد
ملتے از کار شان اندر فساد

ص، ۲۳۴ - جعفر اندر هر بدن ملت کش است
ایں مسلمانے کہن ملت کش است
خند خندان است و با کس یاد نیست
مار اگر خنداں شود جز مار نیست

از نفاقش وحدت قومے دو نیم
ملت او از وجود اولیئم
ملتے را هر کجا غارت گرے است
اصل او از صادقے یا جعفرے است
الاماں از روح جعفر الاماں
الاماں از جعفران ایں زماں

ص، ۲۳۴ - تا گذ شتیم از جهان شرق و غرب
بر در دوزخ شدیم از درد و کرب
یک شرر بر صادق و جعفر نزد
برسر ما مشت خاکستر نزد
گفت دوزخ را خس و خاشاک بہ
شعلۂ من زیں دو کافر پاک بہ

Tipu's date of death is contained in the following chronogram:

"ٹیپو بوجه دین محمد شہید شد"

CHAPTER XV

THE LAST DAYS OF THE MUGHULS (1748 to 1799)

SECTION I

KASHMIR UNDER THE AFGHANS

Kashmir was conquered by the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1752. After Abdulla Khan Ishak Aqasi Khwaja Abdulla Khan became the Governor. On account of the hostility of Sukh Jiwan Mal and Abul Hasan Khan Bandey he was murdered along with his two sons. Sukh Jiwan Mal assumed the governorship and appointed Abul Hasan Khan as his principal minister. Sukh Jiwan Mal, a Khatri by caste, was born in Kabul. His family came from Bhera. He had been apponited *nazim* of Kashmir by Shah Abdali. When the later made heavy demands on Kashmir in the form of tribute and presents he raised the standard of revolt, refused to comply with the demands and had the Khutba read in the name of Alamgir II. Ahmad Shah Abdali sent an army against him to recover Kashmir but the Afghans were defeated and dispersed. The Afghan prisoners were paraded through the streets of the city. Alamgir II bestowed on Sukh Jiwan Mal an elephant, a palanquin and the title of Raja while Abul Hasan Khan Bandey was honoured with title of Khan. He posted his own troops to guard the approaches into Kashmir from Kohistan.

Soon after heavy snowfall of unprecedented intensity destroyed crops and Kashmir was soon in the grip of a severe famine. Khwaja Abul Hasan conducted a house to house survey and provided provisions to the famine stricken areas for six months. To add to the calamity, swarms of locusts invaded the valley in 1754 and the *Muftis* issued a *Fatwa* permitting the eating of the locusts.[1] Besides the distribution one lakh *Kharwar* gram was given to the cultivators as seeds in the form of *taqavi*.

Mir Muqim poisoned the mind against Abul Hassan of Sukh Jiwan and had him dismissed. Such intrigues were the bane of official life,

not only in Kashmir but in all the newly founded states as well as what was left of the Mughul empire. After about a year Abul Hasan was reinstated in his office. Sukh Jiwan Mal emboldened by the disturbed conditions in the Punjab following the incursions of the Sikhs and the Marahattas, set out to capture Sialkot. Bhimbar and Akhnor in the hope of securing easily defensible frontiers but he had to turn back ingloriously from the siege of Sialkot and returned to Kashmir and wreaked his vengeance on Abul Hasan who was more popular with the people and a . . . . He was driven into exile and spent his last days in Panuchah.[2] Sukh Jiwan Mal who had so far been generous and kind to the Muslims now turned against them, his bigotry truimphing over his usual sense of justice and fair play. Egged on by Mahamand his new Prime Minister, he prohibited the slaughter of cows and the Muslim call to prayers within Kashmir. Several leading Muslims were executed, the most eminent being the prince of Balkh, Aga Husain and Moulvi Sharif-ud-Din, the son of Mahtawi Khan.

Ahmad Shah Abdali sent a large army against him under Nur-ud-Din Khan in October 1762. The Raja was captured and blinded. He was later sent to Ahmad Shah Abdali who had him trampled under the feet of elephants. Nur-ud-Din Bamzai was appointed Governor of Kashmir in 1762 and occupied that office till 1763.[3]

Sukh Jiwan Mal was an educated and cultured man. He patronised Muslim learned men and held religious discussions with the Muslim dirveshes. He attended the Jame Masjid on Friday and frequently visited the graves of the Muslim saints. Weekly *meushahra* were held and the festivals of *Eid* and *Nauroz* celebrated with oplamb. He commissioned seven poets to compile a versified history of Kashmir but the work was never completed. In later years of his life fear, suspicion and the ambition to consolidate his position made him turn against the Muslims. Himself a poet of no mean merit he favoured particularly the Persian poets. When his eyeballs were being plucked out with the barber's razor he recited the verses:[4]

Buland Khan Bamzai was appointed governor in 1763. During his time Shia-Sunni riots took place and the Shias who had started the trouble were severely punished. He was recalled in 1764 and on his return died in Jammu. He was succeeded by Nurud-Din Khan

in 1765. He left soon after for Lahore leaving his sister's son, Jan Muhammad Khan, to officiate as governor on his behalf. Lal Muhammad Khan, a Khattak Afghan who had built a fort and settled his tribesmen in Chal Baras, ousted him and introduced a reign of terror, the chief sufferers being Hindus and Shias. He was removed from office and Khurram Khan Khwajasara was appointed subadar in his place in 1766. He protected the Hindus and appointed some Hindu officers. He was indolent and incapable and did little or nothing to put down rebellions or improve the administration. Mir Faqirullah Kaut became the Governor towards the end of 1768 and succeeded in dislodging Lal Khan from his fort and driving him away to Panocha. He was cruel, vindictive and licentious. After some time he became so reckless as to withhold sending tribute to Shah Abdali. The latter despatched an army against him under Nur-ud-Din Khan. Faqirullah was ultimately defeated and fled the country. He later died in Kohistan Karna.

Nur-ud-Din Khan was appointed governor for the third time in 1769. His ambition led him to revolt against the Afghans and with the help of Lal Khan decided to fight the Afghans. He was however defeated and ousted by Khurram Khan in 1770. Ameer Khan Jawan Sher succeeded him as the governor of Kashmir. He succeeded in finally suppressing Lal Khan who died soon after. He appointed Mir Fazil Kant as his chief minister and gave himself up to pleasure. He built a new pleasure resort in an island in the *Dal* lake where wine and music parties were held and sometimes administrative matters discussed and orders issued.

Ahmad Shah Abdali died on 13 April, 1772. He was succeeded not without the usual war of succession by his son Timur Shah. He confirmed Amir Khan Jawan Sher as the *Subahdar* of Kashmir and gave him the title of Dilirjang. The latter soon showed signs of refractoriness and began a senseless persecution of the Sunnis. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Naqshbandi was murdered in his house and so were Nur-ud-Din son of Abul Barakat Khan, Aali Matik and Khwaja Fathullah Rai of Baramola. He tried to force the Shaikh-ul-Islam, Qazi Khan and other leading Sunnis divines to introduce the words, "Ali Wasiullah" in the call to prayers (*azan*) but without success. A similar innovation had been introduced by Bahadur Shah. This had been firmly resisted by the Muslims in all important towns in the Mughul

Empire. An Afghan force that had been sent against him was prevented from entering the valley. Haji Karim Dad Khan was sent against him but Amir Khan submitted, sent presents but inspite of this and the fact that he found himself isolated he rebelled again. He was ultimately forced to come out of his retreat and fight in the open. He was defeated, captured and sent to Timur Shah. He had been the governor of Kashmir for over six years. He was succeeded by Haji Karim Dad Khan in 1776. Mir Fazil Khan was appointed revenue minister, Nur Muhammad as *Qazi* and Dilaram as *sahibkar*. Karam Dad Khan restored order and conquered Skardu from Raja Murtaza Khan and was rewarded with the title of Shuja-ul-Mulk. An invasion of Kashmir by Raja Ranjit Das of Jammu was repulsed and an army sent against Muhammad Khan of Muzaffarabad. His rule was severe. He exacted government dues with great harshness and levied very heavy taxes on *mansabdars* and *Jagirdars* many of whom fled the country. Merchants were mulcted of their goods. The cultivators were so hardpressed that they resorted to cutting down fruit trees and sell the wood for fuel in order to maintain themselves. His licentiousness knew no bounds and neither Hindu nor Muslim women escaped his lust.[6] The artisans too did not escape his cruel exactions, the *pashmina* makers being the greatest sufferers. Mulbery trees were cut down to lay out a race course. To add to this a severe earthquake (1783) and a heavy snowfall (1784) added to the sufferings of the miserable people. He died in 1783. During his last years he used to visit the tombs of the saints and toured through Kashmir. He repaired several old mosques such as Masjid Jame and Masjid Aali

His son Azad Khan succeeded him. He appointed Pandit Dilaram as his chief minister. He was more cruel, rapacious and heartless than his father. He was fond of fighting tigers and leapords. He wore ordinary clothes but insisted that his officers and attendants should wear gay and richly embroidered garments. He conquered Kishtiver and sent an army against Raja Rustam Khan of Panoraba, who fled away but later offered his submission. Azad Khan made fruitless efforts which caused heavy drain on the provincial resources and much suffering to the people to bring water to the plain of Maya Soma by means of a canal from the Dal Lake and built a dam across the river Jhelum. His punitive expeditions against the Rajas of the hill states of Kohistan were an utter failure. He later declared himself independent

and had the Khutba read and coins struck in the name of the Ottoman Emperor and assumed the title of Nadir Shah II.

An attempt was made by the Shah through a messenger to bring Azad Khan back to the path of allegiance. Negotiations however failed and an Afghan army was sent against him. Desultory warfare ensued. The royal camp was cut off from supplies of food so much so that one seer of grain sold for one rupee. Numerous fires broke out in the province and cholera epidemic was widespread and considerably decimated the population. Twenty thousand persons died many of whom were thrown into the river as proper burial was not possible. The Afghans were forced to retreat to Peshawar for the time being. Mahmud Khan of Muzaffarabad made his submission.

A desperate attempt was made by some of his officers to assassinate him. He was attacked in his bedroom and though severely wounded he escaped to the house of Dilaram. The conpirators were later driven away and when some were captured twenty of the ringleaders were executed. An Afghan force was sent under Saif-ud-Daula Madar Khan Ishaqzai. Azad Khan was driven from place to place by a well-organized pincer movement. Azad Khan in order to avoid capture shot himself dead. His head was cut off and the eyeballs taken out of their sockets. His mother was made to pay a fine of two lakh. Azad Khan held Kashmir for two years and five months. He built a *Khanqah* of Shah Nimatullah and repaired other *Khanqahs*.

In 1784 Madad Khan was appointed governor. He suppressed the rebels and by justice and benevolence did much to restore peace and tranquillity in the province. He showed respect to the ulema and gave them a feast every Friday. He intended to do away with the extra and illegal cesses but Hindu collectors who had profited from such cesses continued to make payment as before to Ghaffar Khan Mir Saman. This made any improvement impossible in financial matters or relieve the tax-payers of obnoxious exactions.

Mir Dad Khan was appointed governor in 1785. Mulla Qamar-ud-Din[7] was appointed *Qazi* and *Amin-i-Adalat*. The new governor did much to raise the procurement price of rice by five rupees and stamped out hoarding and black marketing. Hafiz Kamal Khan, a public preacher, was arrested for reviling the companions of the Prophet and paraded through the streets of Srinagar, seated on a donkey. He

was latter executed. Mir Jafar Kant who was suspected of seditious designs was put in prison. Mir Dad Khan died in 1788 having held the office for two years and one month. Ismat Khan carried on the administration till the arrival of the new *subahdar*, Mulla Ghaffar Khan. He was followed by Juma Khan Alakazai who continued for four years and seven months. After his death, his son Rahmatullah Khan officiated for him till he was replaced by Hazar Khan in 1792.

Timur Shah died on 18 May, 1792 and was succeeded by his third son Zaman Shah. The latter appointed Hazar Khan by a fresh order as the *subadar* of Kashmir. When Zaman Shah asked him to pay to him the revenues of Kashmir which had not been paid for sometime to the royal treasury he went into rebellion. Diwan Dilaram imposed *Jiziya* indiscriminately on Hindus. Mir Faqirullah in order to decrease the influence of Hindu revenue officers wanted to introduce drastic changes in the method of keeping accounts and discourage the Hindus from learning Persian. His rebellion led to his fall after military operation in 1794. He was followed by Rahmatullah Khan who continued for four months to be in his turn replaced by Kifayat Khan (Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan Musa) in 1793. Three different *subahdars* were appointed—Muhammad Khan Jawan Sher and Abdullah Khan being the other two. The latter held the governorship for nearly eleven years and was notorious for his licentiousness. After the death of Zaman Shah during the time of his two successors Mahmud Shah and Shuja-ul-Mulk Sher Muhammad Khan and Ata Muhammad Khan held the government of Kashmir. The latter was appointed in 1806 and was perhaps the last of the Afghan governors.

The Afghan kingdom of Kabul so laboriously and skilfully founded by Shah Abdali was rent by civil war and internal confusion. With the rise of Ranjit Singh the fate of the Afghans in Kashmir was sealed. After three attempts Ranjit Singh succeeded in wresting Kashmir from the Afghans in A.D. 1819.[8]

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REFERENCES

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan.
2. Khwaja Abul Hasan was the son of Khwaja Ishaq and great grandson of Mulla Abdul Hakim Bandey.
3. There is difference of opinions about the period of his governorship ; for details see Kashmir Vol., I, 313 and J. A. S. B. Vol. 1854, p. 447.
4. See Tarikh-i-Hasan p. 661.
5. See Khazana-i-Amira by Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Balgrami. Neval Kishore Press, 1871 p. 115.
6. His widow later defended him and certified that he was never guilty of fornication, Tarikh-i-Sultani, p. 139.
7. He was a famous Muslim divine and mystic. The title of Shaikh-ul-Islam was conferred on him. He died in 1785.
8. It is a sorry picture we have of the short lived Afghan rule in Kashmir. But most of the sources were written by persons not fair to the Afghans and at a time when the Afghan power in this region was declining. We have to accept with caution the uncomplimentary accounts as the other side of the picture is not known.

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SECTION II

THE DURRANIS AND THE SIKHS IN THE PUNJAB

The eighteenth century of Indian History, though a period of steady decline in the political power of the Mughuls and the fortunes of the Muslim community at large, produced many eminent scholars, soldiers, sufis, poets, administrators and statesmen, who in less troubled times would have lent glory and given strength to any state. Ali Vardi Khan, Asaf Jah, Haider Ali and Tripu Sultan, Abdus Samad Khan and his son Zakariya Khan, Saadat Ali, Najib-ud-Daulah, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Nana Phadnavis, Maharaja Scindia and Ranjit Singh rank amongst the ablest soldiers and statesmen of this age. But lack of cohesion and any concerted policy by the ruling classes, religious as well as temporal, failed to keep the Mughul Empire as a going concern or awaken amongst the masses a consciousness of the approaching doom. Some of these adventrurers founded independent principalities, which in course of time, lacking any foundation, were weakened by internal strife and external pressure till they were either absorbed by the British or rendered subservient to British imperialism.

After the death of Zakariya Khan the Punjab fell on evil days. The Gurkhas, the Sikhs, the Marahattas and the Afghans, as already remarked, created confusion which resulted from the weakness of the Central Government particularly after the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1939. Of all these contestants ultimatelly the Sikhs came out successful and their leader Ranjit Singh succeeded in laying the foundation of a shortlived independent kingdom of Lahore. The Afghans, the Sikhs and the Marahattas carried on their depredations without respect to age, sex, piety or religion. Agrarian grievances had already existed in the Punjab as in other distant provinces of the Mughul empire, but the Sikhs inducted the element of religion in it and their depredations were far more cruel, widespread and thorough. The Mughul and the Afghan struggle against the rising power of the Sikhs which had now become a national revolt completely failed. The *modus operandi* of the Sikhs whose invasions extended from Saharanpur and Meruth to beyond the Attock has been described by a Western writer :

> "As regularly as the crops were cut, the border chieftains crossed over and levied blackmail from almost every village, in

the most systematic manner. Their requisitions were termed *rukhee* sometimes euphemistically called *kumblee i.e.* blanket money. Each of them had a certain well-known beat or circle...The collections, of course, varied with the ability of the people to pay, averaging from two to five rupees, a head. Two or three horsemen generally sufficed to collect them from 2000 to 3000; more horsemen were never very far off. In case of delay about paying up, a handful of troopers, each well-mounted and armed with a spear, sword and good match-lock, speedily appeared to accelerate the liquidation of the debt. Refusal was fatal."[1]

After the victorious battle at Panipat in 1761 Ahmad Shah had reached the peak of his fame and power not only as the founder of the first independent kingdom of Afghanistan but as the champion of Islam and the Protector of the Faith. His role as the Protector of the Faith which later Muslim generations have nourished with nostalgic reverence is difficult to evaluate. That he was genuinely anxious to save the Indian Musalmans from the predicament they were in, may not be doubted but in the process he hastened the dismemberment of the Empire and opened the road to Punjab's domination by the Sikhs, Marahatta depredation and for the final fall of the province to the British. Whether Ahmad Shah Abdali had entertained undertaking such a mission in the interest of Muslims is a controversial subject.

The Sikhs had caused considerable loss of life and property to the Afghan troops on their return march to Kabul. The Afghans, completely exhausted after the strenuous war against the Marahattas, laden with untold booty so precious to them, were harried throughout the march by elusive but hard hitting bands of Sikhs, who not only recovered some of the spoils but succeeded in freeing a large number of female captives from the Afghans and were practically in possession of what is now East Punjab.

Abdali had left one Obaid Khan as the Governor of the Punjab assisted by Nuruddin Bamzai. The later was forced to take refuge in Sialkot and had to evacuate the fort under pressure and return to Kabul. The Afghans were driven out of Gujrawala, and Lahore lay at the mercy of the Sikhs who captured it by the treachery of some leading men of the town who were caught between two millstones and had to choose between the Sikhs and the Afghans. The capture was effected by

Jassa Singh Ahluwalla who came to be known as Sultan-i-Qaum. It is difficult to say when the Sikhs struck their own coins and the superscription they used.[2] But the citadel inside the city of Lahore was still in the hands of the Afghans.

He came again to the Punjab (7th time) in 1762 to punish the Sikhs who next to the Marahattas were the most implacable enemies of the Muslims in general and more dangerous to the newly founded Afghan kingdom, which by its geographic constinquity feared a strong power so close to its border, and the rich plains of northern doab. He however did not go beyond the south of Lahore as his hands were too full with the turbulent Afghan tribes themselves. He however, occupied Lahore and gave the Sikhs a good beating in which the Brars, hostile to the Sikhs, also joined. This disaster is known to the Sikh history as Vadda Ghalughalla (the great massacre). From Lahore Ahmad Shah went to Amritsar, destroyed the Harimanadar so sacred to the Sikhs and descreated other holy places. This was a senseless act of cruelty which the Sikhs have neither forgiven nor forgotten, and the penalty of which subsequent Muslim generations continued to pay till 1948. Some Muslim historians have tried to justify this action of Shah Abdali on the basis of political expediency which is always an immoral acts justified by the victor and not by the victim.[3] The Sikhs retaliated by plundering the country-side. An attempt at a settlement with the Sikhs having failed, the Sikhs were severely defeated in the battle of Amritsar (1972) but the Sikhs recaptured Sirhind and entered Lahore later and dictated their own terms to Kabuli Mal, the Hindu Governor of Lahore, forcing him to chop off the noses and ears of some butchers. Failing to completely subdue them Shah Abdali resorted to the old principle of "Divide and Rule", won over Alha Singh of Kapurthala, showered honours on him and appointed him the Governor of Sirhind.

He crossed into India again at Attock in 1766 for the 8th time. At Lahore he conferred the title of Maharaja on Amar Singh, the Chief of Patiala and appointed him military commander of Sirhind but the Sikhs recaptured Lahore and expelled the Governor, Kabuli Mal. Jassa Singh struck coins in his own name. Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the last time in 1769 to punish the Sikhs but he did not go beyond the Setluj. He returned without achieving much success and died in June 1773.

Ahmad Shah Abdali could not complain like Metternich that he

was either born too early or too late. He was born at a right time with the genius would have won for himself a place amongst the immortals. The Iranian Empire was rapidly decaying ; the Mughal Empire in India was at its last gasps, harried as it was by the numerous enemies. Ahmad Shah with his uncanny insight into the current political scene made full use of his opportunities and for the first time in history succeeded in creating an Afghan nation with its own homeland. But he failed, as Sher Shah had failed earlier, to discipline the Afghans and create in them the virtue of oneness. The result was that within nearly half a century the Afgnans were driven across the Indus and pursued right up to the Khaiber by the Sikhs. He did not succeed in harnessing the potentialities of the Afghans in building a stable imperial system, yet the hopes and pride awakend by him kept alive the spirit of pride as being a nation in their own right inspite of the tribal jealousies. Though the empire that he had so labouriously won was considerably reduced in size, yet its entity exists today and warms the hearts of many an Afghan. Elphinstone gives the following sketch of his character which may be given in extense :

"The character of Ahmad Shah appears to have been admirably suited to the situation in which he was placed. His enterprise and decision enabled him to profit by the confusion that followed the death of Naudir, and the prudence and moderation which he acquired from his dealings with his own nation were no less necessary to govern a war-like and independent people, than the bold and commanding turn of his natural genius."

"His military courage and activity are spoken of with admiration, both by his subjects, and the nations with whom he was engaged either in wars or alliances. He seems to have been naturally disposed to mildness and clemency; and though it is impossible to acquire sovereign power, and perhaps, in Asia, to maintain it without crimes, yet the memory of no Eastern prince is stained with fewer acts of cruelty and injustice."

"In his personal character he seems to have been cheerful, affable, and good natured. He maintained considerable dignity on state occasions ; but at other times his manners were plain and familiar; and with the Dooraunees he kept

up the same equal and popular demeanour which was usual with their Khauns before they assumed the title of King. He treated Moollahs and holy men with great respect, both from policy and inclination. He was himself a divine and an author, and was always ambitious of the character of a saint."

"His policy towards the different parts of his dominions was, to rely principally on conciliation with the Afghans and Beloches; with this difference between the nations, that he applied himself to the whole people in the first case, and only to the chief in the other. His possessions in Toorkistaun he kept under by force; but left the Tartar chiefs of the country unremoved, and used them with moderation. The Indian provinces were kept by force alone; and in Khorassaun he trusted to the attachment of some chiefs, took hostages from others and was ready to carry his arms against any who disturbed his plans."

"It has before been observed that Ahmed did wisely in choosing to lay the foundations of a great empire, rather than to complete a small one. The countries under his dominion extended at his death, from the west of Khorassaun to Sirhind, and from the Oxus to the sea; all of which were secured to him by treaties, or by actual possession; and had his plans been pursued, there is no doubt that a government sufficiently strong to have secured its own stability, would soon and easily have been introduced through the whole of this great empire.".[4]

The Huqqa used by Ahmad Shah Abdali is thus described by Elphinstone :

"I never saw anything more magnificient : it was of gold, enamelled, and richly set with jewels. The part where the tobacco was placed was in the shape of a peacock, about the size of a pigeon, with plumage of jewels and enamel."[5]

THE SUCCESSORS OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

Taimur Shah 1773-1793

Taimur Shah, the second son of Ahmad Shah, succeeded him in 1773. His accession did not go unchallenged. His brother Sulaiman Mirza was

proclaimed king in Qandahar but was defeated and fled to India. The disloyalty of the people of Qandahar filled him with disgust and he later made Kabul his capital. As a counterpoise to the restlessly ambitious Afghan chiefs he raised a contingent of 10,000 Qazilbash soldiers to the great disgust of the Afghans Soon after his accession Shah Alam, who had been living as a pensioner in Allahabad, failing to get any assistance or encouragement to return to Delhi, wrote to Taimur Shah for military assistance, against the English. He offered to pay him twenty million rupees. Taimur is reported to have sent two emissaries to the Emperor but the negotiations appear to have fallen through. The Shah also wrote to Mahadiji Scindhia and Tukoji Holkar informing them of his intention to come to India at the invitation of Shah Alam. In 1780 Taimur led an expedition into India ostensibly to put down the rising power of the Sikhs. At Peshawar Faizullah Khan Khalil chief of the Mohmond tribe conspired against Taimur but the plot was discovered, Khalil was executed and nearly 6000 men of Peshawar were killed. Later, he proceeded into Punjab, captured Multan from the Sikhs appointing Muzaffar Khan as Governor of the city. On Taimur's retirement and the confused condition of the Punjab the Sikhs and the Marahattas carried on their depredations and harrased the people.

A second expedition was undertaken in 1784 but Taimur failed to recapture Multan which had fallen to the Sikhs. The Sikhs pushed back the Afghans and the latter's influence dwindled in Sindh and the Derajat. The Talpur chief who had not paid the tribute for several years agreed to pay it but he never did it and became independent within three years, of Taimur's accession. Bahawal Khan of Bahawalpur had risen to considerable power but was forced to submit and agreed to pay tribute. For the last twenty years the fear of Afghans had had a sober effect on Indian princes and the British and conditioned political allignments but the Afghans were handicapped by their internecine wars their involvement in central Asian politics and the depredations of the Sikhs and the Marahattas.

The British agent at the court of Scindhia assessed the situation in 1789 thus:

> "Taimur Shah is not of a character to undertake foreign conquest; it is with difficulty he can be stimulated to any personal exertion in defence of his own dominions which are

> frequently disturbed by his northern neighbours, and the tribute withheld by the conquered provinces in the East. He can therefore have little or no influence on the transactions of Hindustan tho' the bugbear of his approach is annually repeated".[6]

Taimur was born in Mashhad in 1746 and the early associations with the Iranians exercised considerable influence on him. He had served as Viceroy in Lahore and later of Hirat when he was very young and one of the grievances of the fullblooded Afghans against him was that he was more Iranian than Afghan and this was strengthened by his preference for the Qizilbash soldiers employed by him. He had quitted Qandahar for Kabul after he was superseded by the Qandahari who had set up his brother as king. Afghan factiousness cripled prior and he never got out of this early experience which had nearly cost him his life and throne. The high regard which the Afghans had for his father was his main asset but signs of discontent and restlessness were slowly taking shape and ultimately resulted in the overthrow of his family by the Barakzais.

He had 23 sons and 13 daughters from various women whom he had married from different families to find supporters for his family. There was naturally a contest for the throne, the principal actors being Humayun, Mahmud and Zaman, the son of his favourite wife of Yusufzai tribe and the latter got the better of the other claimants and succeeded Taimur. He had soon after his accession changed his capital, selected Peshawar for its "flower strewn beauty in spring" as the second capital.

According to W.K. Fraser Tytler, at Taimur's death the Durrani Empire, though weakened still included the following areas: Kashmir, Lahore, Multan, Peshawar, all Afghanistan south of the Hindu Kush, Herat on the west, and the Provinces of Balkh and Khulm in the Oxus Valley. The Afghan ruler still therefore controlled the Hindu Kush and much of northern India while his suzerainty was acknowledged by Kalat, Baluchistan and Persian Khurasan.[8]

Shah Zaman (1793-1800) _

After Taimur's death his son Humayun proclaimed himself as king at Qandahar but his younger brother, defeating and blinding him, was proclaimed Shah at Kabul. In 1796 he entered the Punjab and occupied Lahore, the Sikhs offering no resistance. The British who were

carefully watching the movements of the Afghans were perturbed by the failure of the Sikhs to keep the Afghans on the other side of the Indus. Scindhia who might have prevented the Afghans from a possible invasion of Delhi and the Doab was no longer in a position to hold his own in the north. This drew from Marquis Wellesley the comment that he could not consider the idea of an invasion from Kabul "as a mere visionary danger". But luckily for his Indian antagonists a rebellion in Qandahar made Shah Zaman return home. The Sikhs soon after reoccupied Lahore.

In 1797 Shah Zaman led an expedition against Sindh for the recovery of the arrears of tribute. Mir Fath Ali Khan Talpur paid three lakhs and was confirmed in the government of Sindh. The revolt of Mahmud, another brother of Shah Zaman forced the latter to rush back home.

Zaman Shah was all the time preparing to invade India. For this purpose he looked about for allies and made overtures to some Sikh sardars and favourably reacted to Tipu Sultan's gallant fight for freedom and the determination to be master in his house. In 1797 he wrote to Sir John Shore and Mr. Lumsden, the resident at the court of Lucknow The former had been recalled and Shah Zaman's letter reached Wellesley on June 3, 1798. The letter had been sent through one Ghulam Ahmad Khan. The letter to Sir John Shore read as under:

> "At this time the trusty Ghoolaum Ahmad Khan, the newswriter in Hindustan, after having the honour of paying his respects at the resplendent presence, described to us the excess of your attachment and fidelity which afforded us much satisfaction, and prompted further marks of our favour towards you. It is our intention to visit Hindustan, and at a proper season shall accordingly set out where we shall encourage friends and chastise enemies. We have, therefore, now deputed Ghoolaum Ahmed Khan thither to ascertain who are our friends and who are our enemies, which we will communicate (later); accordingly let your mind be perfectly at ease, and continue to walk in the path of allegiance and fidelity. Dated the month of Zilhidja. 1211 Hedgiree, answering to June 1797."[9]

What happened to Ghulam Ahmad Khan we do not know but

these letters alerted the British. Wellesely received a letter from Shah Zaman about the contents of which he informed Henry Dundas. This letter according to Wellesely contained a vailed threat which could not be ignored and steps had to be taken to meet any eventuality. The Governor-General was particularly concerned about the intentions of Shah Zaman.

"Having plainly apprised the Nabob Wazir and me, wrote Shah Zaman, that his object is to restore Shah Aulum, and to drive the Marahattas out of India, and having called for our joint service in a tone of command for the prosecution of his project. He has added, that our answer will determine, whether he is to consider us to be his friends or his enemies. 'This sounds like an ultimatum', that he (Shah Zaman) should consider our not joining his royal standard, and our not assisting him in the restoration of Shah Aulum, and in the total expulsion of the Marahattas in the light of an act of disobedience and enmity."[10] Wellesley assessed the situation carefully in a Minute dated 12 August 1798:

> "Between the country of the Seiks," says he, "and the frontier of Oude no barrier exists to check the motions of the Shah excepting the power of Scindhia. The dominions of Scindhia at present are so weakened by internal dissensions as to be in a state nearly defenceless, while Scindhia continues at Poonah with the main body of his army, and while his tributory chiefs, remaining in Hindustan are notoriously disaffected to his cause, and are prepared to seize any favourable opportunity of annihilating his power."[11]

Wellesley moved quickly and entered into correspondence with Scindhia and Daulat Rao apprising them of the danger of an Afghan invasion and inviting them to form a league against Shah Zaman. The pattern of the alliance was the same as employed effectively against Tipu Sultan from 1797-99. Indian mercenaries and Indian princes were used effectively to their own subsequent subjection and humiliation to build up the monolith of British Empire in India. The Rajputs and Sikhs were similarly asked to join the league. It was further decided to foment trouble in Persia to make a diversion through an Indian Agent in Bushehr so as to frighten Shah Zaman to give up the idea of invading India. Similar help was to be obtained from the Turkish Government.

Mohammad the brother of Shah Zaman had already found refuge in Turkey.

"It is my intensions" he again writes to the Governor of Bombay, "to suggest to his Majesty's Minister to Constantinople the expediency of his endeavouring to engage the Porte to concur with us in exciting the ruling power of Persia to such measure as may alarm Zamaun Shah for the safety of his hereditary dominions and may recall him from the prosecution of his designs against the tranquillity of India. In the meanwhile it is my wish that you should take the earliest opportunity of suggesting the same considerations and objects to the English Minister with the Porte, or through any other more expeditious channel. If I am rightly informed a brother of Shah Zaman is now at the court of Persia; This prince took refuge there not long since, and he might possibly be found an useful instrument in forwarding a plan of the nature in question".[12]

Similar disaffection against Shah Zaman was to be created in Sindh. Shah Zaman invaded the Punjab for the third time in 1798-99. The Sikhs offered no resistance and this alarmed the British who had counted on stiff opposition to Shah Zaman on the part of the Sikhs. Wazir Ali who had been deposed in Awadh and replaced by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan was reported to have sent a wakil with presents to the Shah. It became imperative to keep a watch on Wazir Ali.[13] He was asked to leave Benaras and reside near Calcutta. He agreed to this but when he paid a visit to Mr. Cheny, Agent to the Governor-General in Benaras he murdered him and several other English men and fled to Gorakhpore where he raised a considerable force. The Awadh army hearing of Shah Zaman's invasion mutineed but the Company's troops suppressed the revolt. The flight of Wazir Ali revealed the existence of a well-organized conspiracy to restore him to the Nawabship of Awadh and collaboration with Shah Zaman when his invasion came. Shams-ud-Daulah, brother of Naib Nazim of Dacca was also implicated in this conspiracy. The following letter from the Naib Nazim was discovered during the inquiries following the flight of Wazir Ali.

"From the beginning the decrees of Providence have so ordered that when the affairs of the world are changed and in a ruinous state, the Divine Greatness selects some one,

particularly favoured by heaven, to assist Him to extend His power over the world (so) that mankind may prosper by His just administration. In these times, while disorder rears her head to the skies, and religious as well as worldly concerns, are in the greatest confusion, the Almighty, Disposer of events, has placed your illustrous Majesty on the throne, that you may give peace to mankind and improve their condition. Considering your Majesty as the support and champion of the true faith I am happy to offer my services in the most zealous manner and rank myself among the propagators of our holy religion. Such is the desire of my heart, and my religious zeal, that I observe and presume to represent in an open and unreserved manner, the evils under which this country labours and to state to your Majesty my own wishes. However great were the obstacles to my submitting myself to your Majesty's protection, I have at length fortunately surmounted them, and trusting to Providence, have despatched this letter to your Majesty's court by Sheikh Alli of Amil, who will explain fully all circumstances and contingencies relating to this country. I hope your Majesty will be pleased to hear him. I beg leave to observe that owing to the imbecility of the House of Timor (Mughl Imperial Family) and the contempt into which it has fallen of late years, the powerful have been weakened, and the weak become powerful; worthless unbelievers and ambitious villains have started up from every corner, boldly conquered all these countries, and established themselves here; as the poet observes. "When the lions leave the plain the jackals become bold". For these reasons religion, which should be so highly praised is here lost and of no value; nothing of Islamic remains but the mere name. They have so stripped and reduced the principal Mussalmauns, that they have no resource, and are obliged implicitly to obey their orders. The Mussalmauns are become vile and wretched; the honour of the great men is gone; Christians seize and keep by force the daughters of the Syeds and Mussalmauns. Under these circumstances, when we can no longer act openly, it behoves us to exert ourselves secretly in the cause of religion. If your Majesty's victorious standards shall be directed towards these parts for the

> establishment of religion, and destruction of enemies, by God's assistance your Majesty will in a short time, and without any difficulty, conquer this country and annihilate your enemies, Sheik Alli will state all these things particularly, I hope your Majesty will be graciously pleased to number me among your attached slaves."[14]

Shah Zaman like his father and grandfather entertained from the very beginning the desire of invading India and re-establish Afghan power there. But the times were different. His own position in Kabul was shaky and the newly-founded kingdom was exposed to invasions from the north and the west. More than one power looked to the Punjab as happy hunting ground—the Gurkhas, the Marahattas, the Sikhs and other local chiefs constituted not only a danger to the tranquillity of the Punjab but posed a formidable threat of invasions by foreign invaders.

His first invasion of the Punjab was undertaken at the close of 1795. Crossing the Attock by a bridge of boats he captured Hasan Abdal and from there sent a large force to Rohtas where the Sikhs had built a *dharmshala* and harassed the country around with impunity. Rohtas was captured but Shah Zaman had to hurry back home when he heard that the Kachars of Iran had invaded western Khorasan. He returned to Peshawar which he reached on the third of January 1796 in haste. He soon succeeded in reaching an accommodation with the invaders. Freed from this threat to the integrity of his homelands he turned to India again and unopposed by the Sikhs or the local chiefs he entered Lahore on 3rd of January 1797. He sent his contingents against the Sikhs in their distant and inaccessible retreats, plundered and revaged the villages but, realising the futility of war against the guerilla tactics of the Sikhs, he had recourse to the diplomacy much against the wishes of the fanatical *mullas* and the soldiers bent on loot and the rapacious army officers. He succeeded in winning over some Sikh chiefs and other notables and some sort of unstable and rickety peace was restored. There was much commotion in India and the British sent a force to Anoopshahr to defend the frontiers of Nawab Vizir of Awadh whose principality served as a shock absorber and a buffer state against the Marahattas and the Afghans.

Shah Zaman returned to Peshawar about the end of 1799. While crossing the Jehlum several of his heavy guns were stuck up in the

river but were salvaged and restored to the Shah by Ranjit Singh and Sahib Singh.[15]

The story of Shah Zaman's later years is one of sordid intrigues and tragic war against his own kinsmen. He was defeated, captured and blinded by Mahmud who became the new ruler of Afghanistan. He was ousted within three years by Shah Shuja, the brother of Shah Zaman in 1803. Six years after Shah Shuja was ousted in 1809 and began his wanderings. The Saddozais were soon replaced by the Barakzais.

Shah Zaman was fond of laying out gardens and Elphinstone, who visited Kabul after his death, was enraptured by the beauty of these garden houses and the taste with which they were laid. "The garden was full of bushes thickly planted of red, white, yellow and china roses white and yellow jasmine, flowering cistus and flowering shrubs some of which, remarks Elphinstone, were new to him.[16] His father's (Taimur's) gardens had been destroyed by the Sikhs but Zaman's gardens survived as the hand of Sikhs had not reached there.

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APPENDIX

Adina Beg (d. 1758)

Adina Beg was born of a poor Arain family of Sharaqpur,[1] his father's name being Channu. According to *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg*, he spent his early life in the service of Mughul families in Jalalabad, Khanpur and Bajwara in the Jullunder Doab. Discarding a military career he became the revenue collector of village Tharwal better known as Kang[2] in Sultanpur. Being a man of good personality, ambition and courage and possessing a good knowledge of keeping accounts he secured the *ijara* (contract) of five villages through the good offices of one Lala Sirinivas, a rich banker of Sultanpur. He acquitted himself so well that Zakariya Khan, the then governor of the Punjab, appointed him to the government of Sultanpur. During the invasion of Nadir Shah he did much to protect and relieve the distress of the inhabitants of the region in his charge. Zakariya Khan was so impressed by the administrative ability of Adina Beg and the latter's personal knowledge of the area that, he appointed him the Nazim of Jullunder Doab. Adina Beg restored peace and order in this tract but was careful in not offending the Sikhs. He ignored the policy of taking strong measures against them. According to James Browne, Adina Beg had with him a force which was fully equal to the execution of that service, but Adina Beg, considering that if he did entirely put an end to all disturbances in that district, there would remain no necessity for continuing him in so extensive a command. He, therefore, carried on intrigues with the chiefs of the Sikhs, and secretly encouraged them to continue their depredations, at the same time pretending to be very desirous of subduing them. From this attitude the Sikhs became daily more powerful and seized upon several places in distant parts of the *subah* of Lahore. They also began to perform public pilgrimages to the Holy Tank at Amritsur without molestation."[3]

Pressed by Zakariya Khan he succeeded in making the Sikhs leave the Doab and cross the Sutluj and move to the Sirhind division. His failure to pay the revenue to the Lahore government led to his imprisonment. He was replaced by Shah Nawaz Khan, the younger son of

Zakariya Khan. After a year of imprisonment he escaped from prison but his officer, Bhawani Das was tortured by being immersed in a boiling pot of oil.[4] Bhawani Das refused to render account of the Doab revenues except in the presence of his master, Adina Beg. Lakhpat Rai, the Diwan of Lahore later consented to grant amnesty to Adina Beg, who was appointed Deputy Governor of the Jullunder Doab under Shah Nawaz Khan. After his reinstatement and an award of *Khilaat*[5] he became more careful in his dealings with the provincial authorities and by his tact, he won the complete confidence of Shah Nawaz Khan.

Zakariya Khan died on 1 July, 1745. Adina Beg with his characteristic political acumen took advantage of the hostilities between Yahya Khan, the successor of Zakariya Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan, the second son who had been assigned the Jullundhar Doab but was all the time working to displace his brother. Adina Beg warmed himself in the confidence of both. In 1746, Shah Nawaz came to Lahore to demand a division of his father's property. After lengthy dircussion Shah Nawaz retired after receiving six lakhs from his father's treasure. In March 1747, he returned again and in a battle near Lahore defeated his brother, entered Lahore and took Yahya Khan captive and appointed his own man, Kauramal, in place of Lakhpat Rai and Diwan. Qamar-ud-Din Khan cajoled and threatened by turns Shah Nawaz Khan to release Yahya Khan but Shah Nawaz refused to do it unless he was confirmed in the governorship of the Punjab. Yahya Khan, however, managed to escape from prison with the help of his aunt Durdana Begum and reached Shahjahanabad in safety. Shah Nawaz, afraid of imperial wrath, opened negotiations with Ahmad Shah Abdali on the advice of Adina Beg. The latter at the same time informed the Delhi Government of the treasonable intentions of Shah Nawaz. Qamar-ud-Din wrote a conciliatory letter to Shah Nawaz which made him turn back from the path of disloyalty, but the mischief had been done and Ahmad Shah marched with 18,000 soldiers into the Punjab and reached Shahdara on 8 January, 1748. The Shah sent an envoy to Shah Nawaz Khan calling upon him to keep his promise of helping him. Hot words followed the discussions and Shah Nawaz put one Sabir Shah a *faqir* to death "by pouring molten silver into his throat". This enraged Ahmad Shah who crossed the river and encamped at the Shalimar gardens. In the battle that followed on 11 January, Shah

Nawaz was defeated. He took refuge in the walled city and at night fled to Delhi. Lahore was occupied by Abdali's forces. The city was spared further pillage on payment of 30 lakhs. Abdali stayed in Lahore for a month and a quarter, consolidated his position in the conquered territories and struck coins in his own name[6] and proceeded to Delhi on 19 February. He met the imperial forces at Manupur on 11 March, 1748 but was defeated and returned to Afghanistan. Wazir Qamar-ud-Din was slain in battle and Adina Beg was also wounded.

Muin-ul-mulk the son of Qamar-ud-Din was now appointed Governor of the Punjab. He appointed Kauramal as his *diwan* and Adina Beg as the *foujdar* of the Jullunder Doab.

The Sikhs taking advantage of the involvement of the Governor of the Punjab and the Delhi Government with the Afghans had started their depredations from Sirhind to Bari Doab. A force was sent against them. The fort of Ramgarh was besieged and on the advice of Kauramal the government settled on the Sikhs one fourth of the revenue of the parganah of Patti remarking, "It is better to stitch the mouth of a dog with a morsel". Kauramal was rewarded with the Governorship of Multan and given the title of Maharaja.

Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab again in December 1751, and laid siege to Lahore. The country around it was laid waste and such was the devastation that in the words of a contemporary writer "no lamp was lighted in any house for a distance of three marches and an extreme scarcity of grain prevailed in the camps of both the armies". Muin, against the advice of Kauramal, decided to come out of the city and fight in the open. He was defeated on 6 March, 1752 and forced to surrender. He went to the camp of the victor and on being asked what punishment should be meeted out to him; replied, "if you are a butcher kill me, but if you are a king then grant me your grace and pardon". Abdali generously pardonded him and conferred upon him the title of Farzand Khan Bahadur Rustam-i-Hind and the *subah* of Punjab was placed under him.

The Sikh ravages started again and Muin despatched Sadiq Beg Khan and Adina Beg against them. They were surprised near Makhowal and dispersed with great slaughter but they resumed their activities again and for this Malcolm blames Adina Beg: "That able but artful chief considered this turbulent tribe in no other light than as the means of his personal advancement. He was careful not to reduce them

altogether, but, after defeating them in an action which was fought near Makhowal, he entered into a secret understanding with them by which though their excursions were limited, they enjoyed a security to which they had been unaccustomed, and from which they gathered strength and resources for future efforts."[7] Adina Beg in 1752, established a new town named after him Adinanagar eight miles north of Gurdaspur. Muin-ul-Mulk died on 3 November, 1953 and it was suspected that he had been poisoned. His two years old son was proclaimed governor with Muin's widow Surayya Begum, better known as Mughlani Begum, as the regent. Raushan-ud-Daulah Rustam Jang did not accept this arrangement but Mughlani Begum succeded in winning the support of other Turani nobles and a civil war was averted. Her son, however, died, probably of poison administered by Bhikari Khan Raushan-ud-Daulah and she assumed the headship of the province. Alamgir II appointed Mumin Khan as the Governor of the Punjab on 25 October, 1754. But the Governor-designate could exercise no power. Bhikari Khan rebelled again but was captured and beaten to death in April 1755. An attempt to displace her failed and she was confirmed in authority by Ahmad Shah Abdali whose help she had sought. She did not enjoy power long and Khwaja Abdullah, his mother's brother, confined her to her mother's house and assumed power in July 1755.

Adina Beg utilized this opportunity to consolidate his position in his assignment. He was soon however drawn into the vertex of Delhi politics. Qutb Khan, an Afghan Chief, defying the imperial authority ravaged east Punjab and besiezed Sirhind. Sadiq Khan the governor of the place fled to Lahore to seek Adina Beg's help. The latter responded with alarcrity and led out an army against Qutb Khan who was defeated and killed in a battle near Rampur on 11 April. He acquired immense booty and annexed Sirhind and its dependencies. The Delhi Emperor realising the futility of forcibly making Adina Beg give up his newly acquired territory acquiesced and gave Adina Beg the title of Zafar Jang Bahadur. Emboldened by his recent success he marched upon Lahore and appointed Sadiq Beg Khan, the former governor of Sirhind, as his deputy there. But Mughlani Begum once again sought the help of Shah Abdali and re-established herself in Lahore. Once again she had to fall victim to court intrigues and this time at the hands of her prospective son-in-law, the powerful wazir Imad-ul-Mulk. The latter came to Lahore, received the bride and carried away Mughlani Begum

to Delhi in March 1756. He appointed Adina Beg as the Governor of Lahore and Multan against an annual tribute of thirty lakhs much to the annoyance of the widow of Mir Mannu severely rebuking Imad-ul-Mulk. "This conduct of yours will bring distrees upon the realm, destruction of Shujaabad and disgrace to the nobles of the state".[8] Sayyid Jamil-ud-Din was appointed his assistant. Khwaja Abdullah Khan went to Qandahar and brought back a strong Afghan force which captured and sacked the city on 4 October, 1756. Khwaja Abdullah Khan was appointed Governor of Lahore on behalf of the Durranis. Ahmad Shah who had received invitation to invade India from Mughlani Begum, Najib-ud-Daulah and the Emperor reached Peshawar in November 1756. Adina Beg was driven away and forced to take refuge in Kangra Hills. In Delhi, Ahmad Shah secured immense treasures and "virgin tributes from the imperial harem" through Mughlani Begum. She was, in return for her services, granted Jullunder Doab, Jammu and Kashmir as her fief. Adina Beg, was invited to submit and promised to be reinstated in the Jullunder Doab. Adina Beg at first declined to accept the offer but later when the Doab was laid waste by the Durranis he accepted the Government of the Doab in return for an annual tribute of 36 lakhs to be remitted to Timur Shah, the son of Shah Abdali, in Lahore. His agent, Dilaram was kept in Lahore as a surety for the payment of the tribute. Adina Beg, though he had been exempted from attending the Afghan court, was summoned to appear in person by Jahan Khan. Adina refused to obey the summons. The Afghans again invaded the Doab but were defeated by Adina Beg who had secured the help of the Sikhs on a promise of permitting them to plunder the country in return for their services, which they had rendered to him, to their hearts content. After ravaging all the districts of the Doab,[9] they entered Jullunder City, the home of Nasir Ali who was responsible for the atrocities committed on the Sikhs at Kartarpur. Here they gave loose rein to their passion of ravenge.[10] indulging in general plunder and massacre of their enemies. Children were put to the sword, women were dragged out and forcibly converted to Sikhism. Many of them carried off Muslim women of Jullunder as wives. The mosques of the town were defiled by pigs' blood. Nasir Ali's dead body was dug out of the grave and pig's flesh was thrust into his mouth. This was done at the orders of Sodhi Barhag Singh. [11]

The Afghans failed to put an end to Sikh depredation and to capture Adina Beg. There was complete anarchy from November 1757

to February 1758. Adina Beg, now turned to the Marahatta chiefs, Raghunath Rao, the Peshwa's brother and Malhar Rao Holkar, who were already in Delhi to help him in driving away the Afghans from the Punjab. He promised to pay them "one lakh of rupees for every day of marching and Rs. 50,000 for halting". The Marahattas crossed the Jamna, beseiged Kunjpura and retired after exacting a tribute of five lakhs. The Marahattas now in earnest began a systematic invasion of the Punjab, captured Sirhind in March 1758, and thoroughly looted the inhabitants of Sirhind, high and low, so that none, either male or female, had a piece of cloth on his or her person left. They pulled down the houses and carried off the timber. They dug up floors for buried treasure and seized every thing they could lay their hands on".[12] The Afghans made no serious attempt to halt the advance of the Marahattas or the Sikh forces. Timur Shah in panic left the city of Lahore for Kabul. The Afghans were pursued and near Wazirabad their baggage was plundered, large number of Afghans were killed and the prisoners were taken to Amritsar and forced to clean the holy tank there which they had earlier defiled. Adina Beg and his Marahatta allies now returned to Lahore on 11 April and were given a public reception in the Shalimar gardens. The fountains of the garden were made to play with rose water and the whole city was illuminated.[13] Adina Beg was given the title of Nawab and the Punjab provinse was leased to him by his Marahatta masters for 75 lakhs of rupees a year. Adina Beg fixed his residence at Batala leaving Khwaja Mirza Khan, his son-in-law, in Lahore. Sadiq Beg Khan was assigned the administration of Sirhind. Adina Beg by his vigour, discipline and good government was welcomed by all sections of the people. He now set himself the task of consolidating his position in the province which now extended from the Jamna to the Indus. To meet his commitments to the Marahattas he had to restore agriculture, industry and trade and this could only be secured by providing security of life and property to his subjects. He turned first to curb the lawlessness of the Sikhs to which he himself had contributed by encouraging or conniving at their acts in the hope of weakening his rivals. He enlisted the support of several Hindu and Muslim chiefs who had their own scores to settle with the Sikhs. "All the Punjab zamindars submitted to him and started devising plans for rooting out the Sikhs". Of all the zamindars of the Punjab the Randhawas showed the greatest readiness in destroying the Sikhs. Adina Beg ordered that in no district or parganah should Sikhs

be allowed to live, they should either be captured or killed. Mirza Aziz Bakhsh was one of his most trusted nobles. Adina Beg appointed him to this duty at the head of several thousand horse. He also entrusted him with one thousand carpenters[14] with steal hatchets and axes for the purpose of cutting down and clearing away the jungles and forests where Sikhs used to seek shelter, so that no hiding place might exist for them. The Sikhs were very much perturbed and relaxed their activities. Some fled away and hid themselves, but a body of them bolder than the rest, showed the greatest gallantry and courage in going to Amritsar, quite ready to lay down their lives at the place of their *Gurus*. They took shelter in their mud fort near Amritsar called Ram Rauni. Mir Aziz, on hearing this, laid siege to the fort. The Sikhs, becoming desperate, fought with great bravery. Jai Singh Kanhiya and Jassa Singh made a sally and killed with matchlocks and arrows a great numbers of their assailants. They then returned to the fort and shut the gates. Jai Singh mounted on a swift and spirited mare, displayed remarkable gallantry by piercing into the midst of the enemy. Though matchlocks were aimed at him and he was attacked on all sides, yet none dared to come near him and he escaped within the fort. At last Mir Aziz succeeded one night in making a hole in the wall of the fort. The Sikhs then sallied out and many were killed or taken prisoners.[15] Adina Beg pursued the Sikhs ruthlessly and would have quelled the rebellion of the Sikhs, but for his death at Batala on 15 September, 1758.[16] He died without any heir. He was buried at Khanpur in the Jullunder Doab near Hoshiarpur "and a fine tomb was eracted over his remains". The Sikhs are reported to have later dug out his grave and burnt his dead body.

His Character

Adina Beg was the typical product of the age in which he lived. An opportunist by circumstances, unscrupulous by nature and ambitious, his main asset was his tenacity of purpose, ability to play one enemy against the other. He changed his loyalty according to the dictates of the moment. He was an efficient accountant and administrator and in peaceful times at the court of Sher Shah or Akbar would have adorned the office of the Diwan. His politics were Machiavellian, an arch type of a ruler as portrayed by Machiavelli. The contemporary author, Ghulam Husain Tabatabi speaks of him as "a very devil in the appearance of man." He could be cruel[17] and generous, liberal and

stingy, loyal and untrust-worthy, according to the exigencies of the time. Bakht Mal in his *Khalsa Nama* has the following observations to make about him: "Adina Beg was a greedy man. He did not crush the Sikhs. If he had intended to do so, it was not a difficult task. But he had this idea in his mind that if he quelled the Sikhs some other contractor might be entrusted with the Government of the *doab* for a higher sum and he might be dismissed. He, therefore, treated the Sikhs well and settled terms with them. For this reason the Sikhs grew stronger and they gradually occupied many villages as jagir."[18]

His greatest asset was his alertness and awareness of the contemporary political and military situations. He was extremely strict in the matter of collection of revenue and awarded examplary punishments to those who withheld payment of tribute. He made a show of confirming to the dictates of *shariat* and once punished the Qazi of Jullundur by imposing a fine of 30,000 rupees on him for the ground poppy he had stored in his house. Surrounded on all side by enemies, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, he was able to maintain his own and like Talleyrand succeeded in keeping his head on his shoulders in those difficult time. He held out a carrot both to the Sikhs and the Marahattas when he was threatened by them and played the diplomatic game of hide and seek with his enemies and rivals. Another Muslim writer describes him thus : "The Sikhs he amused, the Delhi court he dispised, the Afghans he bewildered, and the Marahttas he effectually influenced in his favour to break the power of both the Sikhs and the Afghans and to obtain his own independence."[19]

He did not marry and left no issue, but he was reported to have married a Sayyid girl towards the end of his life whom he later divorced. According to another account he left behind a son who fled to Delhi in 1759 at the time of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion.[20]

Surayya Begum (Mughlani Begum)

One of the most colourful personalities of the mid-eighteenth century who dominated the politics of the Punjab from 1753 to 1757 and was responsible for the tangled politics of the country was Surayya Begum, better known as Mughlani Begum. She was the grand daughter of Abdus Samad Khan, through his daughter Durdana Begum. She was married to Muin-ul-Mulk, the son of Nawab Qamar-ud-Din Khan, the Prime Minister of Delhi from 1724-48. On the deathof her husband

she had to face the opposition of Bhikhari Khan and her husband's troops which now began to clamour for arrears of pay. She succeeded in winning over the officers of the army by paying them three lakhs of rupees from her own treasury while the body of her husband lay unburied for two days. The body of Muin-ul-Mulk was taken to Lahore and buried there near Shahid Ganj.[21] The body was latter disinterred by the Sikhs and the remains scattered to the winds.[22] Emperor Ahmad Shah appointed the three year old infant son of Muin Mahmud Khan as the viceroy of Multan and the Punjab. Another child Muhammad Amin, two years of age, was appointed his deputy. Mumin Khan was entrusted with actual administration though Mughlani Begum exercised real authority.[23] To register her son's claim she sought confirmation of the appointment of her son from Ahmad Shah Abdali who had annexed the Punjab in 1752. This confirmation was received towards the end of January 1754. Bhikhari Khan refused to acknowledge the new viceroy but was captured and confined to the palace by the Begum's officers. Soon after she had to face the revolt of Qasim Khan Turk, a former employee of Muin-ul-Mulk. His troops and Sikh allies turned against him and the former captured him and handed him over to Mughlani Begum. The death of the baby-governor led to the appointment of Mumin Khan as the governor of the Punjab whom she refused to acknowledge. The actual administration was now carried on by Mughlani Begum through her eunuch. There was complete disorder in the province and the power of the Sikhs for mischief had increased. Mughlani Begum offended the nobles who began to despise her because of her profligacy. She was accused of a liason with Ghazi Beg Khan Bakhshi and her own young page, Miskin, who had come to India during the invasion of Nadir Shah. Khwaja Mirza Khan, an Uzbeg who had been appointed the *faujdar* if Aminabad led the revolt against her, secured her person, plundered her residence and confined her in her mother's house. She now appealed to Imad-ul-Mulk, the Wazir at Delhi, to whom her daughter had been betrothed but Imad had already married Ganna Begum,[24] the daughter of Ali Quli Khan Daghistani. Imad decided to help. He marched to Sirhind but Adina Beg offered to help him and sent Sadiq Beg to Lahore. The latter succeeded in reinstating Mughlani Begum in the seat of authority and Umda Begum, her daughter was sent (4 March, 1756) with the rich dowry to Imad who was camping in Machurara. Adina Beg was commissioned to bring Mughlani

Begum to Imad's camp. She was taken to the palace of Imad on 28 March, 1756. Her entire treasure and property were confiscated. Adina Beg was appointed the governor of Punjab and Multan with Sayyid Jamil-ud-Din as his assistant. The choas in Lahore gave an opportunity to the Afghans to reoccupy Lahore on 4 October, 1756 and plunder the city. The Sikhs continued unchecked their depredation in the Punjab. Mughlani Begum played her last trump card by inviting Abdali to invade the Punjab. The Afghans appeared again, drove away Adina Beg who took refuge in Kangra Hills, and occupied the country up to the Satluj, scattering the populace and plundering the villages. The Delhi government did nothing this time to repulse the Afghans. According to Sarkar, the Wazir who wielded the empire without a share in his power, took no step to meet the danger, he refused to go to Sirhind to oppose the invation, but consulted *darvishes* as how to overcome the enemy through their prayers without fighting the invaders.[25]

Mughlani Begum went to see Ahmad Shah at Karnal. She apprised him of the condition of affairs at Delhi, the miserable condition of the people and the harsh treatment meted out to Shalapuri Begum, the widow of Qamar-ud-Din Khan. An envoy sent from Delhi was dismissed "with the doleful message that the Afghan invader had demanded two crores of rupees in cash, the hand of the Emperor's daughter, and all the territory from Sirhind westwards, as the condition of withdrawing from the conquered territory." Imad presented himself at Abdali's camp at Navela but the Shah refused to go back and the Afghans entered Delhi on 28 January, 1757. The city was systematically plundered for one month and the Afghans seized all they could set their hands on. The Shah married Hazrat Begum, a 16-year old daughter of Muhammad Shah, and Zohra Begum, the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II was given in marriage to his son Timur Shah who was sent to the Punjab with all the booty captured in Delhi. Mughlani Begum was suitably rewarded for her perfidy for having betrayed the Emperor and helping Abdali in making the leading citizens disclose their hidden wealth. She was appointed regent, Imad-ul-Mulk was reinstalled as wazir after having been formally married to Mughlani Begum's daughter. Hausia Begum was handed over to Mughlani Begum to serve as her housemaid. The Jullunder Doab, Jammu and Kashmir were granted to her in fief which she proceeded to administer through

her deputies. Her jagir was later cancelled but she was assigned an allowance of 30,000 which she refused. All her entreaties for the restoration of the jagir having fallen on deaf ears, she returned to Lahore and took her residence in Serai Hakim. Adina Beg had agreed to pay tribute to Jahan Khan, the Durrani agent at Lahore which however he failed to pay. Adina Beg's agent Dilaram who had been held as a surety was tortured and Mughlani Begum secured his release and connived at his escape from Lahore. Jahan Khan's wrath fell on the Begum who was mercilessly beaten with a rod and shut up in a small room. She was only rescued when the Afghans were expelled from Lahore by Adina Beg on 9 April, 1758. When Adina Beg fixed his headquarters at Batala, Mughlani Begum was assigned a residence there and was given a grant of 2,000 rupees and 50 rupees a day for kitchen expenses. She took a fancy to Miskin, then 18 years of age, and made advances to him. As he did not respond to her advances he was imprisoned and set free on the intervention of Adina Beg. After Adina Beg's death on 15 September, 1758 she went and settled in Jammu where many Muslims had found refuge under the benevolent rule of Raja Ranjit Dev. The following observations of George Foster[26] who visited Jammu in 1783 are given below :

> "Runzeid (Ranjit) Deve, the father of the present chief of Jumbo (Jammu) who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler, largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahomedan merchants, he held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them a disinterested and an honourable conduct. Negative virtues only are expected from an Asiatic people and under such a sanction his subjects might deem themselves fortunate but the chief of Jumbo went farther than the forbearance of injuries : he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpour, and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony, a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India, and as the

Kashmirians, who chiefly composed his Mahometan subjects, have been."

On the death of Adina Beg Khan the Begum was at a loss as what to do, and eventually decided to settle in Jammu. When she reached near the town, Raja Ranjit Dev came out to a distance of five miles to receive her. On seeing her he alighted from his horse, paid respects to the Begum, and offered her a suitable dwelling place and some allowance and lands by way of maintenance. The Begum took from Miskin the three jewels in his turban, and conferred these along with a robe of honour on the Raja.[27]

In Jammu the Begum lived in state but soon her funds were exhausted and she had to sell her jewels. The governor of Kashmir visited her and made offers of presents and tribute. An offer by Hasan Banday, a rival of Sukh Jivan, to help her get the governorship of Kashmir led her into difficulties and she and Miskin nearly lost their lives in the venture. She sent her daughter to Delhi and herself joined Ahmad Shah Abdali who had invaded India again. To relieve her financial distress Ahmad Shah Abdali settled on her the revenue of Sialkot. She did not long enjoy the revenues as his agents Miskin and Rustam Khan were captured by the Sikhs and released only on payment of a large ransom. Mughlani Begum returned to Jammu. She again took to her dissolute life and when people started talking about her scandalous behaviour she retired to Sambah and married her paramour, a former house-hold servant, Shahbaz. Miskin left her and went to Sirhind and Mughlani Begum spent the last 18 years of her life in poverty and obscurity. She died sometimes after 1779.

Mughlani Begum's Character

Mughlani Begum was connected with the highest families who served under the Mughuls both on her father's side. She appears to have lost her balance after the death of her husband, Mir Mannu. With a vaulting ambition unsupported by administrative experience or political acumen, she kept on a running fight against her numerous enemies. She took a fancy to Miskin, a young lad who had come to India with Nadir Shah, and her voluptuousness became the talk of the day. She had more than one lover and her sexual escapades remind one of the women of the time of the later Bourbon rulers and of the times of George the III. She was a poor judge of character and an

inefficient administrator with the result that during the two years that she was in power the economic condition of the province worsened She made good use of her feminine charms in winning over friends. Inspite of her faults she was generous to a fault. She could be easily roused to anger and her punishments were sometimes cruel. She was throughout her career dominated by her eunuchs and close companions who abused her confidence.

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REFERENCES

1. Eighteen miles form Lahore on the bank of the river Ravi.
2. In Tehsil Nekodar about three miles from Lodran.
3. James Browne, Indian Tracts, ii, p. 14.
4. According to Bute Shah (folio 242 b) Tarikh-i-Punjab. P. U. L. 1848. It was Adina Beg who was then tortured.
5. For the description of Khilaat, see Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, i, p. 15, Gupta, i, p. 63.
6. J. A. S. B. Vol. LIV, 1885, p. 69.
7. Gupta. op. cit., p. 78-79.
8. Elliot, Vol. VIII, p. 242.
9. Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan in Elliot, viii, 266.
10. Jullunder town was burnt by the Sikhs in 1757. Imperiel Gazetteer, 1908, Punjab, i, 421.
11. Bute Shah, 24b-243b, gives details about the manner in which the Sayyids restored peace in Jullunder by winning over the Sikhs.
12. Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, 55b.
13. Miskin, 179, Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan in Elliot, VIII, 267, Khazana-i-Amira, 100-101.
14. 4000 carpenters according to Macgregor, i, 131.
15. Ahmad Shah, 981-2, of Sohn Lal, appendix to Vol. I, 18-19, Macgregor, I, 131-32.
16. According to Sarkar he died on 13th October, see Sarkar, Fall of the Mughul Empire II, p. 77.
17. Reference may be made to his treatment of a sweetmeat seller related by the author of Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, 58b-59a.
18. Bakht Mal, Khalsa Nama, Manuscript 1804, Punjab University Library, Lahore, folios 58-59. quoted by Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol. I, p. 134.
19. Hari Ram Gupta, Studies in Later Mughul History of the Punjab, Lahore, The Minerva Book Shop, 1944, pp. 106.
20. Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, III, 64. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari by Muhammad Ali Khan, Ansari, 10-b.
21. According to Khuswant Rai at Ghora Nakhas in the building of the son-in-law of Abdus Samad Khan. Khushwant Rai, 88 quoted by Gupta 113.

22. The author of Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah expressed his astonishment at these events as follows: "These are strange times, that the one who wears a crown and in whose name the coins are struck and where coins have become current in the realm should have become so powerless because of the misdeeds of the nobles of Iran and Turan", pp. 257-58.

23. He built the Sonehri Mosque in Lahore, Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84, p. 28.

24. See Appendix to Chapter—

25. Sarkar, op. cit, ii, 86.

26. George Foster, Travels, Vol. I, pp. 283-84.

27. Miskin, Tahmas Nama or Tarikh-i-Tahmas, 182.

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